

MEMOIRS

OF THE

Life and Administration

OF THE LATE

Andrew-Hercules de Fleury,

CARDINAL of the *Roman Church*,
formerly BISHOP of *Frejus*,

PRIME-MINISTER to his Most Christian Majesty *LEWIS XV.*

In which are likewise contain'd

Some remarkable Circumstances relating to the Fall
of *M. Chauvelin*, Keeper of the Seals; and the
Rise of Cardinal *Tençin*.

By an IMPARTIAL HAND.

*Sapientissimum enim dicunt eum esse, cui quod opus sit, veniat
in mentem, proxime accedere illum, qui alterius bene in-
ventis obtemperat. Cicer. pro Cluent.*

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MEMOIR

OF THE
Life and Administration

OF THE
Right Honourable Henry

Cardinal of the Roman Church
formerly Bishop of Winchester

By John Gower
Esq.

London: Printed by J. Gower
at the Sign of the Anchor in St. Dunstons Church
in the Strand 1796

By the Author

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OF

CARDINAL *FLEURY*.

THAT Curiosity which the World commonly expresses in relation to the real Characters of great Men, and the discovering the true Motives upon which they act, is at once both natural and laudable. For if that Difference between Men's Stations, which gives Dignity and Power to some, at the Expence of the Ease and Liberty of others, warrants at the same time such a Deviation from the common System of Morals, as most great Men think themselves at liberty to use, then it must certainly follow, that when Death destroys all Distinctions, and strips away at once both the Robes and the Power of the Mighty, there remains no longer any Obligation on such as survive them to carry their Complaisance beyond

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the Grave; and to pay the same Respect to the last Will of a Minister in regard to his Memory, as in Reference to his Character while living, they did to his Power. To arraign the Actions of a first Minister may be seditious, but to enquire after his Death, whether he was a great and good, or an artful and ambitious Man, is a thing that equally concerns Society itself and those who compose it: Posterity has a Right to have such Truths transmitted to them fairly, and private Men may be allow'd to look behind the Scenes, when the Play is over, and there's no Danger of disturbing the Actors in their Parts.

THE *Egyptians* had a Custom of examining strictly into the Actions of their Princes, before they suffered them to be interred, and expressed their Satisfaction as to their Conduct while living, by the Honours which after this Examination they paid to their Remains. We may observe some footsteps of this Custom in the sacred History; the People of *Juda* laid some of their Kings in the Sepulchre of *David*, others were buried in their own Tombs, and some they interred in Gardens without the City. The *Venetians* who in point of Policy, are justly esteemed the first People in *Europe*, maintain this Custom even in these times; and appoint a select Council who review the Government of their deceased

deceased Dogue, while his Body is yet warm; and in Consequence of their Report, his Right to Fame is settled before any Directions are given as to the Solemnities of his Funeral. What imports all this, if not to inform us that when the Great are no more, the Little are at liberty to gain the best Lights they can into their Conduct?

THE Lives of great Men, by *Plutarch*, have been always esteemed among the most valuable Reliques of Antiquity; because there we see evrey Man as he was, his good Qualities and his bad, his Abilities and his Weaknesses, his Behaviour in private as well as in public Life, when in the View of his Family only, as well as on the Stage of the World. This leads us to the Knowledge of Truth, or rather of many Truths. By acquainting us with the Temper of a great Statesman, it enables us to account for many things from their real Motives, in which otherwise we must be imposed on; it frees us from that superstitious Awe that most People have of great Characters; convinces us that Men however great are still but Men, and that as the Humours, Passions, and Prejudices of private Persons, have strong Influences on their Affairs, so Matters of State receive but too frequently deep Impressions from the Caprices as well as Capacities of such as are intrusted with the Management of them. On the other
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hand, such Enquiries enable us frequently to do Justice to great Ministers against the sinister Reports of their Enemies; and even the ill judged Clamours of a hasty, factious or angry People. We now see, at least in a great Measure, *Richlieu* and *Mazarin* in proper points of Light. We confess that the former had many great Virtues which were denied him by his Cotemporaries; and that the latter was free from many of those Vices, with which all the World charg'd him. I might say the same of *Foquet*, *Colbert*, *Louvois*, and many other Ministers; but having sufficiently explained, and I hope fully justified, my Design; I hasten to my proper Subject.

THE Family of the late *Cardinal*, was neither considerable enough to give him great Expectancies, if he had chosen the Robe, or the Sword; nor did it any way abate the Lustre of those Dignities to which he was raised by his personal Merit. His Parents were People of great Honour and Probity, though their Fortune was but moderate, and therefore they destined this Son of theirs *Andrew Hercules de Fleury*, who was born the 22d of *June*, 1653, to the Ecclesiastical State, almost from his Cradle. The Interest they had with the Family of *Villeroi*, left them no room to doubt their finding little Difficulty in providing for their Son, when arrived at an

an Age capable of Preferment, as on the other hand, his Genius and Application, even in his tender Years, left no reason to fear, that he would one Day deserve all that his illustrious Patron could do for him.

HIS own Talents, the Interest of his Relations, and the great Favour of Marshal *Villeroi*, all contributed to render the Abbé *Fleury* very early, as much considered as any Man of his Rank could be at Court, where he behaved himself with so much Ease, Disinterestedness, and Affability, that he daily gained new Friends without provoking the Envy or Jealousy of any. In his Person he was graceful and agreeable rather than handsome or well made; he had something in his Countenance that seem'd to bespeak Condescension and good Nature, tho' in Process of time there wanted not some who fancied they could discern, under the Smile that generally appeared in his Face, a great Degree of Vanity and Self-conceit; but this perhaps might be the pure Effect of Imagination. His Learning was suited to his Function, and he never discovered more of it than became a Gentleman. He always affected a superior Degree of Piety in his Actions and Discourses, which, however, admitted of some Doubts, considering the Liberties of his Youth, which may perhaps find place in some secret Memoirs, tho' inconsistent with my Intention of confining

fining myself to his Administration. He had always a great Complaisance for the Ladies, and had a peculiar Turn for their Conversation, which gave him a wonderful Ascendancy over such as he honoured with his Friendship or Familiarity. In respect to the great Men about the Court, he behaved with much Delicacy and Decorum, and knew perfectly well how to reconcile the Attachment due to his Patron, with the Civility that it became him to pay towards Persons of Distinction in another Way of Thinking. In short, during the Reign of *Lewis XIV.* he acquired a very extraordinary Character, and was looked upon to be at once a very able and a very inoffensive Ecclesiastic, which procured him the Bishoprick of *Frejus*, notwithstanding some disadvantageous Reports that had been made of him to the King.

WHEN that Prince came to be on his Death-bed, or rather when he became sensible of the Approach of Death, for he did not leave the making of his Will to that Season in which Men are least fit for putting their Concerns in Order, he began to think of fixing on a fit Preceptor for the Dauphin, the last Hopes of his Family, and who was shortly to sustain the Crown of *France*. In this Situation, those who are best acquainted with the old Court, say, the King never thought of the Bishop of *Frejus*,

ius, but that he was recommended to him as the fittest Person for this Office by the Marshal *Villeroi*, and that he yielded to this Choice with some Reluctance, from an Apprehension that the insinuating Temper of this Prelate, would have Consequences, which might not be so easily cured as prevented. But the great Affection his Majesty had for M. *Villeroi*, and his Respect for the Abbé *de Fleury*, who had been Preceptor to the Duke of *Burgundy*, Father to the present King, overcame all Difficulties, and fix'd his Resolution.

THIS Appointment is the more remarkable, since it was not made by the Will itself, but by a second Codicil, dated *August 23, 1715*. The Bishop had no sooner a Prospect of this Employment, than foreseeing it would demand his whole Attention, he resigned his Bishoprick. This Act of Piety and Disinterestedness, as it contributed not a little to raise his Reputation, so it was likewise of no small Service to his Interest, for now he had no other Employment than the Care of his Royal Pupil, nor was it in the Power of the Envious, or the Precise, to reflect on him as abandoning his pastoral Charge, to addict himself to a Court. Besides, if he had kept this Preferment, he must sometimes have visited his Diocess, which would have removed him from the King's Presence, and given an Opportunity
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to others to weaken those Impressions, which he took so much Care to imprint on his tender Mind.

LEWIS XIV. dying on *Sept. 1. 1715*, the Regent, by the Authority of the Parliament of *Paris*, set aside the greatest Part of his Will, but adhered however strictly to those Clauses which had relation to the Care of the young King's Person, and therefore the Duke of *Villeroi* was immediately put in Possession of his Post as Governor, and the ancient Bishop of *Frejus* of that of Preceptor to his Majesty.

It must be acknowledged, that never any Man executed his Charge with greater Application than this Prelate. He kept the King continually under his Eye, fashion'd his Temper with wonderful Dexterity, and by a continual and punctual Observance of every Turn of his Humour, acquir'd such an Ascendancy as nothing has been able to remove. The Regent, who was the most penetrating Man in the World, very soon perceived this, and tho' *M. de Frejus* behaved himself towards him with all the Humility and Respect imaginable, yet considering him in the Light of a Creature of *M. Villeroi*, and allied in other Respects to some whom he disliked, he was very desirous of removing him from about the Court, without giving him any Distaste, or drawing on himself the Censure of the Public.

lic. With this View, on the Death of M. *de Mailly*, his Royal Highness offered him the rich Archbishopric of *Rheims*, but our Prelate excused himself on account of his Age (for he was then turn'd of his Grand Climacteric) and his Want of Talents to fill with proportionable Abilities so high a Dignity in the Church. The Regent was far from being satisfied with this Answer, as not knowing whether it proceeded from Humility or Ambition, and therefore he made him next some Overtures of procuring for him a Hat from *Rome*, but this too the Bishop declined, with still stronger Expressions of his own Unworthiness. He continued, however, to shew on all Occasions, such profound Reverence for his Royal Highness's Commands, so great a Regard for the Regent's Favourite *Du Bois*, and so little Attention to whatever lay without the Sphere of his own Employment, that by Degrees the Duke of *Orleans* laid aside his Apprehensions, and forgot his Jealousy.

THE Scene changed a little in 1722, when the Regent resolved to make *Du Bois* Prime Minister. This was a Step so generally disagreeable, so hateful to the People as well as distasteful to the Nobility, that without question it rais'd as universal a Discontent as any thing the Regent ever did. When *Du Bois* came to take his Seat in this high Quality at the Council, for he had

the Rank of Prime Minister before he had the Title, Marshal *Villeroy* and the Duke *de Noailles* accompanied the King to his Chair of State, and then withdrew. This first suggested to the Regent the Expediency of removing the Marshal from about the King, and an Accident which happened soon after, afforded his Highness what he thought a favourable Opportunity of doing it. The Regent was one Day desirous of conversing with the King alone in his Closet. Upon signifying his Pleasure, all the Nobility who were present withdrew, except the Marshal *Villeroi*, who in consequence of his Employment of Governor to his Majesty, insisted on accompanying him wherever he went. The Regent had so much Presence of Mind as to say he would take some other Opportunity of speaking to his Majesty, and so withdrew. But the same Day he caused the Marshal to be arrested, and soon after banished him to his Government of *Lionnois*, whither he ordered his Son the Duke *de Villeroi*, and his Grandson the Duke *de Retz* to follow him. This was a very bold Stroke, since it not only disgusted the whole *French* Nation, but made the King very uneasy. The Tears he shed for Marshal *Villeroi* sav'd the Bishop of *Frejus*, whom the Regent had resolved to exile, on a Supposition that the Favours he had received from

from M. *Villeroi* must have attach'd him closely to his Interest.

It was Cardinal *Du Bois* who persuaded the Regent to change his Mind. He represented to him on the one hand, the Danger of such a Step; that to remove at the same time the King's Governor and Preceptor, might make too deep an Impression on his Majesty, and on those about him, and that the Presence of the one seem'd necessary to console him for the Loss of the other. He represented on the other hand, that the Fears of his Royal Highness were very ill grounded. He said he thought it no good Inference in Court-Logic, that because the Marshal had been good, the Bishop should be grateful. That it was certain this Prelate knew the World well, and the Court better, and therefore instead of taking such Measures, he was for treating him with greater Kindness and Complaisance than ever, as believing that this would produce an outward Return of Civility at least, which was all they needed or could expect.

THE Duke-Regent followed the Advice of his Eminence in this as in all other things, and Cardinal *Du Bois* being declared Prime Minister on the 22d of *August*, 1722, which was just a Fortnight after M. *Villeroi*'s Disgrace, he received the Compliments of the Bishop on that Occasion, who

made no Scruple of going to Council, and acting in his proper Sphere during that Administration to the Time of the Cardinal *Du Bois's* Death, and even to that of the Regent, which happened on the 1st of *December* the succeeding Year. As his Royal Highness died very suddenly, so the Change his Death produc'd in respect to public Affairs, was altogether as unexpected. The Duke of *Bourbon*, as first Prince of the Blood, had immediately an Audience of the King, in which he demanded and obtained the Office of Prime Minister. The Duke of *Chartres* (now Duke of *Orleans*) was at *Paris* when his Father died, and tho' on the first News of that fatal Accident, he made all imaginable Haste to *Versailles*, yet he came too late; the Post he pretended to was gone, and the Duke of *Bourbon* who had got it by his Address, had Capacity enough to preserve it by a wise Distribution of his Favours.

WHAT Share the Bishop of *Frejus* really had in this Transaction, is very uncertain: He suffered it at that Time to be believ'd, that the Elevation of the Duke of *Bourbon* was the Effect of his Councils, and indeed it is more than probable, that if he had opposed that Measure, it would not have taken Effect. But on the other hand, some have affected to doubt, whether he did this out of Affection to that Prince, or from
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some other Motive, and on this Subject they have reason'd thus: If the Duke of *Orleans*' Son had succeeded to his Father's Power, the Interest of that Family had been so well establish'd, and the personal Virtues of that Prince were so well known, that his Ministry must soon have been fix'd on the firmest Basis. There was at the same time no Probability that he should introduce as an Associate in the Ministry, any Man whose Alliances seem'd to point him out as little attach'd to the Family of *Orleans*, and whose coming over to their Interest, must have thrown a Shade of Ingratitude over the Brightness of his Talents. It was quite otherwise with the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Assistance afforded him was liable to none of these Objections, and the Necessity he was under of keeping steady to his Interest, a Person known to have such an Ascendancy over his Royal Master, was sufficient to secure this Prelate a proper Return for any Services he did. On the whole therefore they conclude, that there was in this Transaction, at least an equal Proportion of Self-concern, as of Regard for the Prince of the Blood whose Cause he seem'd to sustain, and that our Statesman in raising him to the first Station in the Kingdom, had a Side-view of taking Post in the second himself.

THE Ministry of the Duke of *Bourbon* had a very strong Air of Patriotism, and all the

the World thought that as a faithful Servant to the King, a Prince of his Blood, and a sincere Guardian of his Subjects; he would have enjoyed his Dignity many Years, and have managed the public Affairs as happily for himself, as he did for the Nation. But as there is nothing so unstable as human Felicity, and of all the several kinds of it, none so uncertain as that of a Court, this fair Prospect was quickly changed. A dangerous Illness the King had in the Beginning of the Year 1725, not only alarmed all *France*, but gave the Duke of *Bourbon* such Inquietudes that he resolved to run all Risques, rather than not procure as great Safety to the State, as the Nature of human Affairs would permit. The King was now fifteen, but the Wife, the Regent had given him, was eight Years younger, so that the Expectation of Issue from this Marriage was attended with great Incertainty. The Duke of *Bourbon*, thought that as the late Duke of *Orleans* had consulted the Interest of his Family in this Match, so he as Prime Minister had a Right to consult the Interest of the Public, in breaking it and sending the Infanta home again. This was without doubt, as bold a Step as any that had been taken, even by the Regent himself; but then it was founded entirely on public Spirit, and a generous Desire to render equally happy, both King and People.

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WHEN this was first proposed, many People surmized that the Duke had particular Views of his own; and it was even given out that he intended to marry the King to one of his Sisters. His Highness however was a Man of quite another Temper. He had the Heart and Head of a Prince; with a Fortune equal to his high Quality; and therefore scorned such sinister Methods of aggrandizing his Family: The Count *de Morville*, and the Bishop of *Fresus* shared his Confidence, and were those who had the chief Direction of his Councils. The Count was a faithful Friend, and a most assiduous Servant, he gave his Advice freely when called upon, and followed Directions punctually when they were given him. The Bishop on the other hand, was so very modest, and so excessively humble, that he could never be brought to speak his Sentiments, but in such Terms as were best understood by himself, and yet could give no Offence to others. He certainly did not project the sending back the Infanta, and yet it is as certain that he disposed the King to relish that Measure, and to be very well pleased with the Thoughts of another Wife. Thus the Tables were open, and the fore Game lay fair, while in case of ill Luck, the Prelate had still a back Game very good. In short, he took the Merit of the Measure so far as
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it was applauded; and as to the rest, he left it to lye upon the Shoulders of such as were better able to bear it: A kind of Management he practised with equal Success, in all the Transactions of his Life.

ALL the World knows how great a Flame was raised by this necessary Step, of sending back the Infanta to *Madrid*, and how much it contributed to that strange Event which followed, *viz.* the close Conjunction between this Court and that of *Vienna*; of which one may safely say, that it is equally hard to tell whether the Dangers it was said to threaten, or the Mischiefs it has since brought upon *Europe*, exceed in Number. Philip V had just remounted the Throne of *Spain*, when his Daughter was sent back. He remembered on this Occasion, the hard Terms prescribed to him by the late Regent, of disgracing his Minister Cardinal *Alberoni*, before *France* and her Allies would so much as hear of Peace. When therefore he found his most Christian Majesty, had actually espoused the Daughter of King *Stanislaus*, and that consequently all Satisfaction; as to the great Point, was become absolutely impracticable, he immediately resolved to take this Opportunity of returning the Affront he had received, and declared peremptorily, that he would hear of no Accommodation, till

till by way of Preliminary, the Duke of *Bourbon* was disgraced.

THERE were at this time Ministers at the Court of *France*, who, if they did not find Means to suggest, were at least very well pleased with his Catholic Majesty's Declaration, and took care to give it Weight with his Nephew. But the time was not yet come, in which that Step was so proper. The Duke who was the most public spirited Minister in the World, had formed several Projects for the Benefit of the People, which his Enemies not only suffered him to execute, but assisted him therein, because they knew his Successors must reap the Benefit, though the Odium with respect to the Clergy, and other great Bodies of Men, must fall upon him; and when they had thus wrought him into very great Difficulties, they found it no hard Matter to destroy his Interest with the King. His Highness had his Failings as well as other Men, and amongst these his excessive Passion for a certain Lady, was the most glaring. This therefore with his Kindness to four Brothers of the Name of *Paris*, who were engaged in the Receipt of the public Revenue, came to be represented as intollerable Grievances to the King, and at the same time it was hinted that as the Means of making his Government easy at home, and procuring a thorough Reconciliation with

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Spain, which the Duke himself declared to be most necessary, he had but one step to take, which was, to dismiss that Prince from his Employment. The Removal of a Prime Minister is always Matter of Joy to the Populace, the laying aside a Prince of the Blood was very grateful to most of the Nobility, and the *Spanish* Faction was numerous enough to give this Measure an Air of public Approbation.

THE Disgrace of the Duke of *Bourbon* was as sudden and unexpected as his Promotion. The King sent him a Letter *de Cachet*, by which he directed him to retire to *Chantilli*, a fine Seat of his not far from *Paris*; and from that Hour the Bishop of *Frejus* was considered as the King's Prime Minister. He opened his Administration with an Act which did him a good deal of Credit; and that was suppressing the Edict for raising the fiftieth Penny, which rous'd the Clergy against the Duke of *Bourbon*, and which consequently united them firmly to the new Minister, who acted in quite another Manner. It must be allowed, that never any Man behaved with greater Prudence, or took more Precautions for establishing his Ministry, than this Prelate did at his first coming into Power; for he continued all the great Officers in their Employments, caress'd those who might think themselves least obliged to him, such
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as the Count *de Morville* Minister for foreign Affairs, and the Marquess *de Breteuil* Secretary at War. He also affected a very close Correspondence with Mr. *Walpole*, the *English* Minister, and seem'd to be as zealous for the Execution of the Treaty of *Hanover* as ever the Duke of *Bourbon* had been who made it. His Enemies indeed pretend to account thus for his Conduct: They say, that as to the Ministers, he continued them for his own Service, as knowing their Capacity and Integrity, and having no Apprehension of their Interest, since the King was entirely influenc'd by his Councils, and was now arrived at such an Age, as gave incontestable Weight to his Commands; and that as to the *English* on the other hand, he made use of them very adroitly to negotiate sometimes, and at others to terrify the Court of *Spain* into her former close Union with that of *France*, which was the great Point he had in view.

BUT to digress a little from Politics, or at least from the Politics of Princes, it may not be amiss to observe with what profound Humility our new Minister conducted himself in the midst of Honours. We have heard that he despised Revenues, thought himself unfit for Ecclesiastical Dignities, and even declined the Purple. But the Scene was now somewhat chang'd. Whatever Aversion he had to Crowds, he submitted

for the sake of the Public to endure such an Attendance upon him, as had never been seen in any Ministry since that of Cardinal *Mazarin*. He condescended too, out of the same Respect for the State, to demand a strict Account of the Conduct of other Ministers in their several Departments, and at the same time that he studiously declin'd the Title of Prime Minister, he executed the Functions of that Office with unusual Exactness. In point of Revenue, he was extremely modest, for he never touch'd the Appointments of his high Post, which amount to 50,000 Livres *per* Month, but contented himself with some rich Abbies, to which in the Course of his Ministry he added three or four lucrative Employments, that furnished him with much more than he had Occasion for, according to the Manner in which he lived. It must be owned, that no Minister ever less affected Splendor, but at the same time it must be confessed, there never was a Minister who lov'd Power more. He had no Family, and consequently suffer'd no Sharers in his Authority, which there always is where a Man has a true Kindness for his Relations. He kept a good Table because he lik'd it; in other things he was not curious, from a natural Disposition to be easy, his Servants had his Ear very much, which they gained by an implicit

plicit Obedience, the only kind of Merit which he thought deserved a Reward.

WHEN he had ascended to the highest Post a Subject could pretend to, he thought it not amiss to have the Dignity of Cardinal, which some pretend puts a Man on the Level with Princes. This Business might have met with some Delay, if his Imperial Majesty, the late Emperor *Charles VI.* being inform'd of the new Minister's pacific Temper, had not removed the Obstacle, by giving a Nomination he then had to this Prelate; in consequence of which, he was declared Cardinal in the Year 1726, by the late Pope *Benedict XIII.* Thus in a short Period of time he saw his Wishes entirely accomplished and himself exalted, notwithstanding his pious and humble Disposition, to a Plenitude of Power few *French* Ministers have enjoy'd, as well as to the most sublime Title to which any of them pretended.

HIS Scheme of Politics had pretty much the Air of his Predecessors; the Affairs of the Nation, and his own Establishment, demanded Peace; in seeking it, therefore, he certainly acted right, tho' in this there was nothing extraordinary, which, however, cannot be said of the Methods he afterwards pursued. A Reconciliation with the Court of *Madrid* had been privately negotiated by the Abbé *de Montgon*, a Man of a great Family, and of a very fair Reputation,

Reputation, but strongly attach'd to the Duke of *Bourbon*, who employ'd him in this Negotiation. This Ecclesiastic brought back to *Versailles* a Plan of Accommodation dictated by the Queen of *Spain*, of which the Cardinal made use, but being piqu'd at the Abbé de *Montgon*'s Firmness to his Patron's Interest, he not only depriv'd him of the Reward of his Service, but persecuted him with great Bitterness ; for it is pretty certain, that in spite of all his Piety and Moderation, the Cardinal very seldom forgave, except where he could not punish. By disgracing this Man, he gave the *English* and *Dutch* Ministers to understand, that he disapproved all secret Correspondence with the Court of *Madrid*, and was desirous only of such an Union as should be agreeable to the Allies of *Hanover*. At the same time he took care to make strong Professions of Kindness and Friendship to the Imperial Court, and of his sincere Design to maintain a strict Harmony between the Emperor and the King his Master, for the sake of promoting the Catholic Interest, which he knew was the darling Scheme of the Court of *Vienna*.

THE Dawn of his Administration was remarkably happy. The Nation wanted Repose and a gentle Government, which were very agreeable to the Cardinal's Temper. His Genius was very slow, and his Capacity narrow.

narrow. At first he had no other Passion than a Jealousy of his Power, but by degrees he became intriguing and ambitious; he took time to acquaint himself with the several Branches of Government at Home, and the Use he made of this was to strengthen his own Power. If he found a Man blindly submissive to his Will, he certainly prefer'd him, tho' his Merit otherwise might not be great; but if he once discover'd in any Person a Will of his own, or an Inclination to expostulate on receiving Orders, his Parts were sure to do him no good. As he had Helps from the greatest Men in *France*, he attained by degrees a very comprehensive Knowledge of the Duties of his Office, which he discharged rather with Punctuality than Spirit, as if he aimed at keeping things from growing worse, and not at making them better. The Ministers who found themselves easy under his Direction, and the People who were less squeez'd under his Administration than they had been by any of the former, concurr'd in their Applause. His pacific Disposition gave him a great Opportunity of imposing upon the foreign Ministers, by making them believe that most of their Courts depended upon him, and that he had rather greater Credit than themselves with each of their Masters, which induc'd them to study his Temper, and to be well with him, that he might not cross their

Negociations

Negotiations Abroad, or send injurious Accounts of them Home to their Sovereigns.

HE took a great deal of pains at first to conquer the Aversion of the *Spaniards*, and by degrees this had its Effect. He first drew the Queen to confide in him, and she easily influenc'd the King to do the same, as appears by the many Letters he has left behind him, and which all shew how great an Ascendancy he had at that Court till after the Treaty of *Seville*; for this he was chiefly indebted to the King of *Spain's* Confessor Father *Bermudez*, a Man much of his own Character, and who had a singular Weight with the Catholic King. When in spite of all the Applications that could be made, he saw the *Spaniards* obstinately bent on the Recovery of *Gibraltar*, he offer'd the *English* all the Assistance they were intitled to in virtue of the *Hanover* Alliance, but at the same time he suggested, that they were very well able to do themselves Justice against a Power much distressed by its own ill Management; and that his marching *French* Troops to the Frontiers of *Spain*, could only serve to render the War general, and frustrate that pacific Plan to which the Ministers of a neighbouring Court were as much inclined as he. This Conduct succeeded so well for a time, that *Paris* became, in a manner, the Centre of all Negotiations, and the Candour and Disinterestedness

terestedness of the Cardinal, gain'd him almost as much Influence Abroad, as he had at Home; but it was easy to foresee that this could not last long.

THE Cardinal seems to have arrived at the Zenith of his Glory in the Summer of the Year 1728, when after a long Series of ineffectual Negotiations, a Congress was appointed at *Soissons*, rather for his Conveniency than from any more material Motive. This to be sure gave a great Lustre to his Ministry, and at the same time occasion'd a mighty Expence at a very small Distance from *Paris*, which enrich'd the *French* Nation, while their Vanity was flatter'd by seeing such a prodigious Attendance of foreign Ministers upon theirs. For, in the first place, the Emperor sent his Chancellor Count *Sinzendorf*, Count *Windisgratz*, and Baron *Penterriedter*; the King of *Great Britain* Mess. *Stanhope*, *Walpole*, and *Poyntz*; his Catholic Majesty the Duke of *Bourbonville*, the Marquis *de Santa Cruz*, and Don *Joachim de Bernachia*; their High Mightinesses the States General Mess. *Goslinga*, *Hop*, and *Hungroinie*; Count *Gallowin* had the Care of the *Russian* Affairs; the Barons *Sparre* and *Gedda* those of *Sweden*; as those of *Denmark* were managed by M. *Schefted*; the King of *Poland* sent Count *Hoym*; and besides these, the Elector of *Bavaria*, the Elector

D Palatine,

Palatine, the Duke of *Parma*, and the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp* had their Ministers. The Ministers Mediators appointed by his most Christian Majesty, were Cardinal *Fleury*, the Marquis *de Fenelon*, and Count *Brancas*. The Congress was opened on the fourteenth of *June*, with abundance of Ceremony.

THE Emperor's Prime Minister, Count *Sinzendorf* spoke first, and after magnifying his Master's pacific Inclinations, he next ran out into a long Panegyric on the known Candour, Sincerity and unwearied Application of Cardinal *Fleury*, to the great Work of Peace. To this his Eminence replied in terms that do not give us any great Idea, either of his Eloquence or his Clearness, as to the Business of that Meeting. The Substance of what he said was. " That
 " he thanked their Excellencies for their
 " Condescension in coming to *Soissons*:
 " That they were met there to accommo-
 " date the Differences, and to remove
 " every thing that might have a Tendency
 " to a Rupture: That to limit the too far
 " extended Dominions of certain Powers,
 " is not the Business in hand, but to paci-
 " fy the Troubles arisen by Jealousy. That
 " it would not be difficult to remedy the
 " same, provided they set about it with
 " Sentiments of Justice, and Sincerity:
 " That he found so much Moderation, and
 " such

“ such favourable Dispositions in most of
 “ the Ministers Plenipotentiary, as gave all
 “ imaginary Hopes for a happy Issue of
 “ the Congress: That they had given par-
 “ ticular Marks thereof, by removing all
 “ Disputes touching the Ceremonial: That
 “ the like Sentiments of Moderation ought
 “ to prevail for accommodating reciprocal
 “ Grievancies; that it had been agreed,
 “ that the Demands which shall be made
 “ by one Party, shall be communicated to
 “ the other Party, to answer thereto: That
 “ in case those Demands cannot be ad-
 “ justed amicably by Negotiation, the Mi-
 “ nisters of the Powers which are not di-
 “ rectly concerned therein, are to employ
 “ their good Offices to reconcile the Par-
 “ ties; and that in fine, the Answers on
 “ every Matter shall be delivered by either
 “ Party, in the Name of all the *Allies*. ”

THIS Congress moved a very leaden
 Pace, and like that of *Cambray*, did much
 more Honour to the Cooks who dressed
 the Entertainments, than to the Ministers
 who eat them. In short, it was a kind of
 Opiate, which by suspending the Resent-
 ments of the several Princes of *Europe*,
 made Way for the adjusting the Quarrels
 amongst them, not so much by the Medi-
 ation of *France*, as by introducing a free
 Correspondence amongst themselves. If there-
 fore the bringing these great Men together

here, did honour to the *Cardinal*, and brought some Profit to *France*, it was without subjecting any of the Courts to the Influence of his Eminence, who began at last to make but a poor Figure there, while the Conferences which directed the Congress were actually carried on at the *Hague*.

BUT it may be expected, that I should account for all the *European* Powers concurring in this Step, to gratify the Vanity of an old Man; nor is the thing hard to be done, few or none of these Powers were really in a Disposition, or indeed in a Condition, to enter into a War. The Emperor was on the Defensive, he had no Thoughts of attacking others, he desired only to keep what he had, and to secure if possible the peaceable Possession of it to his Children, by procuring proper Guarantees of the Pragmatic Sanction; the British Ministry wished for nothing so much as Peace, they knew their Country wanted it, and that their Power could not long subsist, if a War ensued; *Spain* was haughty and turbulent, but at the same time indigent, and without Strength; the *Russian* Government in a State of Infancy, that of *Sweden* declining, and *Denmark* only desirous of some Way or other getting good Friends: As to the States General, they found the Wounds that they had received in the last War, so apt to throb and shoot upon

upon any Change of politic Weather, that one need not be surprized at their being apprehensive of every little Storm. Thus we see it was for their own Conveniency, that they indulged the *Cardinal's* Humour, and perhaps they did this the more readily, because they stood in no great Terror from his superior Capacity, even before the Congress began, and afterwards they had Opportunities enough of knowing that the having full Possession of his Master's Ear, and an absolute Command over much wiser Men than himself, gave Authority to our great Statesman, and made it convenient to place at the Head of the Affairs of *Europe*, a Man whose Abilities were not strong enough to make any intelligent Power jealous. I cannot tell whether this will prove a satisfactory Answer, but I know that it is a true one, and that these were the real Motives of that whole Transaction.

THE Treaty of *Seville* effectually defeated and overturned that of *Vienna*, which had given so much Pain and Uneasiness to *France*, and the Maritime Powers. It is certain however that this Treaty had never been broken through, or the strict Tie between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* dissolved, if the former had not been false to its Engagements. The Explication of this matter will give such Light into all the subsequent Parts of this Work, that I
hope

hope to deserve not only the Reader's Patience, but his Thanks for what I am about to say of it. The Scheme of the Treaty of *Vienna*, was adjusted between two Cardinals at *Rome*, who had both in their turns been at the Head of the *Spanish* Affairs; and it was by their Councils both Courts were disposed to relish that Alliance, which however unnatural it was called, was certainly calculated for the Advantage of both the Courts that contracted it. The Emperor was to find in it immediate and extraordinary Benefits, such as the establishing a most gainful Commerce in the Low Countries, mighty Supplies of ready Money, ever acceptable at the Imperial Court, and the Guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction by that Potentate, which of all others was most likely to have disputed it to the last. These, however, were such things as might be avowed in Treaties, and accordingly appear in them; but the Advantages that *Spain* was to receive were of another Nature; they were such, that had they been declared, a War must have immediately ensued; and for this plain Reason therefore they were concealed. But it can scarce enter into any Man's Head, who is at all acquainted with these Affairs, to conceive, that a Court so full of Subtilty, and so extremely careful of its own Interest, should be so exceedingly eager in concluding

ing an Alliance, advantageous only to a Power consider'd hitherto as its capital Enemy ; or that it should reward with the highest Titles, and almost sovereign Authority, a Minister who had concluded so injurious a Treaty. The Truth of the Matter was, that *Spain* was to support the Emperor during his Life, with all her Power ; and the Emperor, in consideration of this, was to give the two Archduchesses to the Infants Don *Carlos* and Don *Philip*. This clearly accounts for the whole Affair ; for the permitting a free Trade to the *Spanish* West-Indies, for the immense Subsidies granted to the Imperial Court, and for the guarantying the Pragmatic Sanction, because it shews, that these were mutual Benefits, and that both Courts were to be equally the better for them. *Spain*, on her part, executed the Treaty punctually ; but the Emperor, either frightened with the Difficulties he foresaw, disconcerted by the Resignation of the King of *Sardinia*, or resolved not to do what he had too hastily promised, treated the secret Articles of the Alliance at *Vienna* as Chimæra's.

It fell out very luckily for *France*, that this *Vienna* Treaty gave her no greater Dis-
taste than it did the Maritime Powers. They either were, or fancied they were, deeply affected by it ; and because *France* was as much concern'd in Interest, they join'd with
her

her in frightening and soothing the *Spanish* Court into its former State of Dependance upon *France*, which, as I have said, was effected by the Treaty of *Seville*, soon after which all Intercourse between *Madrid* and *Vienna* was broke off. It is certain that the *Spanish* Court gain'd great Advantages by this Treaty, but then they were all at the Expence of *Britain*, and *France* contributed nothing beyond the inserting her Name in the Alliance. On the Credit of this, however, the Cardinal was for assuming to himself the Power of doing all things there, and not satisfied with the Tutition of a great Prince at Home, he was so sanguine as to expect he should direct without Controul a Princess of so high a Spirit as the Queen of *Spain*. In order to carry his point, he enter'd into a close Correspondence by Letters, wherein he believed himself to have a great Superiority over most People. In these he assured her, that the strict Union of the two Crowns was the chief Aim of his Administration, and that he was ready to concur in her Views for promoting her Family, and to employ for that purpose the whole Force of *France*.

THESE Propositions met at first with as favourable a Reception as his Eminence could desire; but it was not long before the Queen pressed for the Performance of them, and laid Project after Project before the Cardinal

dinal for this purpose, which put him to the Trouble of finding as many plausible Excuses; for it was a standing Maxim with him, to relish nobody's Projects but his own, tho' he was far from having the best Head in the World at contriving them. To remedy this Inconvenience, and put himself in a Condition of rivalling *Richlieu* and *Mazarin*, he made use of a certain Privy-Counsellor of his own creating, the famous M. *Chauvelin*, a Man of much Address, of a bold enterprizing Genius, and of as much Suppleness as could well enter into the Composition of a Man of this Character. By soothing the Cardinal's Vanity, he promoted his own Views, and by pretending to guess at his Eminency's Schemes, he suggested to him things he could never have thought of. The good old Man fancied that he had now attained the very thing he sought for, and that the Quickness of *Chauvelin's* Parts would fully supply his Deficiencies. Upon this bottom he ventured in his turn to lay down a Scheme for the Court of *Spain*, which tho' it was not very agreeable to her Catholic Majesty, yet she was forc'd to accept it, because there was no other to be had, and therefore upon this Plan both Courts began to act, with all the Diligence and all the Secrecy imaginable.

WHEN things were almost ready for Execution, and when their Thoughts were

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only busied about finding a Pretence for beginning the War for which they had been preparing, there fell out an Accident that gave them a much fairer Handle than in all Probability their Politics would ever have furnish'd them with: This was the Death of King *Augustus* of *Poland*, which happened in the Month of *February*, 1733. It was immediately resolv'd by the Cardinal to close with the Inclinations of the *Poles*, and to promote the Election of King *Stanislaus* to the vacant Throne. This was certainly a right Design, tho' grounded upon wrong Motives, and pursued by a Series of wrong Measures. In order to explain my Meaning, I must observe, that neither the Cardinal, nor the Court of *Spain*, had ever shewn any cordial Affection for the Consort of his Most Christian Majesty. Her Marriage had been brought about by the Duke of *Bourbon*, by the Connivance, rather than the Consent of the Cardinal; and as this Marriage baffled all the fine spun Schemes of *Spain*, it is no wonder that Queen and her Ministers were displeased with it. On this Occasion, however their Language was quite changed, and the Cardinal Minister, and the *Spanish* Ambassador seem'd to vie with each other in their warm Expressions of Attachment to the Interest of King *Stanislaus*.

THE Emperor on the other Side, was no less sanguine in supporting the Pretensions of the Son of the late King, then Elector of *Saxony*. He fancied that by promoting him to this Throne, he should add new Strength to the Pragmatic Sanction, by engaging him to relinquish all his Pretensions to the Succession of the House of *Austria*. He had besides other plausible and extensive Views, which so perfectly coincided with the towering Politics of the Imperial Court, that the honest, and well meaning Councils of Prince *Eugene*, were not only treated with Coolness but Disrespect. The Emperor therefore relying on the Assistance of the *Russians*, and not doubting, that if he was really attacked by *France*, the Maritime Powers in regard to their own Interest, would join in his Defence, resolved to push this Project to the utmost, and set *Augustus III.* on the Throne of *Poland*, not only in spite of the *French*, but also in spite of those who were supposed to elect him. He carried his Point indeed, but he carried it to his own Undoing. There was something so visibly wrong in this Proceeding, that Powers not immediately interested in it could not be brought to approve, much less to support it; and therefore when *France* and *Spain*, attacked his Imperial Majesty upon this Pretence, the *Dutch* secured themselves by a Neutrality,

ty, and *Great Britain* chose to look on and wait the Event without any Security at all. ¹⁰ BUT if the Emperor's Proceeding in the Affair of *Poland*, was not altogether justifiable, the Plan pursued by his Eminency, was liable to infinitely greater Objections. He did not preserve so much as Appearances, in the capital Concern of the War, but sacrificed the brave Count *Plelo*, and exposed the Person of King *Stanislaus* to the greatest Dangers, with no other View in the World, than that the Risque he ran might furnish a Pretence for the Allies taking Revenge in another Place. This might be Policy, but it was scandalously unjust. All *Europe* saw it and cried Shame, but this did not seem to affect the *Cardinal* much. The Duke of *Berwick*, who like a true Soldier of Fortune, drew his Sword upon any Country, and even upon his own, as his Interest directed him, was sent to carry Fire and Sword, into the Heart of *Germany*, at three times the Expence that would have set King *Stanislaus* on the Throne of *Poland*. *Spain* and *Sardinia* on the other hand, acted with no less Vigour in *Italy*, though the Reasons they gave for breaking with the Emperor, were so slight that they ran the Hazard of never being trusted by any Power again, that valued it's own Safety.

THE War was carried on at a vast Expence, both of Blood and Treasure, and though through the great Superiority of the Allies, and the weak Measures of the Court of *Vienna*, Victory declared itself for the House of *Bourbon*, yet the true Friends of their Country deplored the State of *France*. New Men were advanced in the Troops, not so much for their Military, as for their Ministerial Merit, and *Chauvelin* amassed a Fortune of many Millions, by the passing of the Supplies through his Hands. It was no Wonder therefore, that finding after two Years Struggle, the Kingdom was almost as much exhausted, as by the last general War; some Patriots in *France*, for such there really are, began to form Projects for the Relief of their burthened Country. With this view, they caused a distinct and concise Account of these Mismanagements to be drawn up. In this, they pointed out the true Interest of the Crown, and of the Subject, the Expediency of setting Limits to the Royal Power, and of lessening the Loads laid upon the People; the Folly of substituting the private Interest of a Ministry, to the public Weal, and the Madness of suffering corrupt and wicked Men, to amass vast Fortunes, meerly because they knew how to pay their court, and in particular Instances, how to serve the Purposes of the ONE Great Man. This Paper was put into
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the Kings Hands, by the Duke de G—— who said softly, *Sire, Your Majesty's Happiness, and the Welfare of your Subjects, depend on the Attention you give to this Representation.* His Majesty, however without reading it, put it immediately into the Hands of the Cardinal, who to shew his superlative Power, procured all who had any hand in it, to be immediately banished; and to make a shew of good Nature and Magnanimity, directed in a very short time, that they should be recalled. This manner of Proceeding had it's desired Effect, it checked all Applications of a like Nature, and obliged such as had the best Right to speak, to take a settled Resolution of holding their Tongues.

BUT if the omnipotent Minister carried his Point in appearance, the Authors of that Representation carried theirs in reality. The Cardinal read their Paper with Attention, though it met with so little Notice from his Master, and he was so thoroughly convinced by what was said in it, that he resolved to put an End to the War, and to have a strict Eye upon *Chauvelin*. The amassing of Wealth, was a thing his Eminency had by no means at Heart, and though he was willing to indulge his Creatures in their Foibles, yet he could not bear the Thoughts of their gratifying their Inclinations at his Expence. Besides, he had
observed

observed, that ever since *Chauvelin* had succeeded the Count *de Morville*, the Ministers of the Maritime Powers had not that Confidence in his Promises, which he had before experienced, and on which he valued himself so much. These reasons determined him, and consequently determined *France*, to hearken to Terms of Accommodation. In doing this, he stuck fast to his old Maxim, and instead of hearing what would content his Allies; fixed upon a certain Scheme, which he thought beneficial to *France*, and honourable for himself, with which therefore he resolved they should be content.

HE found by Experience, that he could not govern absolutely in *Spain*, and therefore to indemnify himself for the Loss of his Influence there, he began to cultivate an Interest in the Imperial Court, and this he did so dexterously, that his Imperial Majesty began to have a real Esteem for him, to which he was the more inclined on account of the Cardinal's reputed Zeal for the Catholic Religion, for which the Emperor was more truly concerned, than all the Cardinals in Christendom. Every body is well enough acquainted with the Plan of this Peace, by which King *Augustus* was acknowledged for the lawful Monarch of *Poland*, Don *Carlos* exchanged his hereditary Countries, for the Kingdoms of
Naples

Naples and *Sicily*, the King of *Sardinia* got an Equivalent for the fourth Part of his Expences, and the Crown of *France* obtained the noble Dutchy of *Lorrain*. One need not wonder, that the Queen of *Spain* was not over well satisfied with a Project, which fell so far short of her own, or that she began to renew her Intrigues in *France*, in order to raise up another Minister, who might serve her Purposes better than the Cardinal had done. The Wonder rather was, that she found such a Person; that after the Mischiefs so many People had drawn upon themselves, by their having a secret Correspondence with the *Spanish* Court, there should still be left a Person of Abilities and Figure sufficient to promote her Views, who would run the Hazard of treading in that slippery Path, by which no Man hitherto had been able to acquire, either Interest or Credit.

THE Man who had the Courage to do this, was the Cardinal's illustrious Coadjutor, M. *Chauvelin*. The Motives which induced him to take a Step like this, are not easily traced, but inasmuch as they are necessary to the understanding what we endeavour to explain, it is requisite to offer some Conjectures about them. In the first Place, he knew how far he had been attacked in the Memorial, and had Penetration enough to guess what Effects this would

would have on the Cardinal, which made him desirous of finding out some Power able to support him, if ever that which rais'd him threw him off. In the next Place, he thought by this Expedient to secure himself against another Contingency, which was the Death of his Right Reverend Patron, an Event which for many Years together was thought to be daily at hand, and which whenever it happened, his Coadjutor knew must be fatal to him. Some had suspected that to these were added a third Motive, *viz.* the Love of Money, and that for the Sake of this he entered into the Views of another Court; but this however is not quite so clear. It is true, that Court had shewn it's great Skill in the use of Money, by bringing over the Duke *de Ripperda* to it's Interest; and this might engage People to imagine that Applications of the like Sort, might be made to M. *Chauvelin*, and this Notion received some Degree of Countenance from that Minister's known Love of Money. However as he never did any thing in favour of that Court, but rather against it; and as it is well known that from the time he succeeded Count *Morville*, the Ministers of that Court were never thoroughly satisfied with the Conduct of *France*; it seems to be a little unjust to charge him with being under any corrupt Influence of that Sort. His Correspondence

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with *Spain*, is a thing very certain, and the Use at first made of it, was to obstruct the Conclusion of a Peace. In order to this, he flattered her Catholic Majesty on the one hand, by expressing a Concern, that so much was to be given to the Emperor; and on the other, suggested in the Councils of *France*; that if Don *Carlos* became the peaceable Possessor of *Naples* and *Sicily*, his Imperial Majesty might very possibly incline to let his Daughter go along with his Dominions, and give that Prince the second Archduchess with the rest of his *Italian* Territories; and in that Case, he expressed a Doubt whether all Circumstances considered, it might not be more than probable; that even the present Age should see the younger Branch of the House of *Bourbon*, greater and more powerful than the Elder. This Language brought him into Credit with a certain Party in *France*, which before thought him both a bad Man, and a bad Minister; but when once the *Spanish* Court had Intelligence of it, there was an End of his Interest there; it was in vain to talk of Refinements, and of the Necessity he was under, of concealing his real Principles; the Queen and her Minister were not to be caught so, they understood all these things too well, and M. *Chauvelin* while he plumed himself on his Abilities really fell a Sacrifice to them. For had he

he been a Man of less volatile Parts, he would have remained satisfied with the Station he was in; and as he had acquired an immense Fortune, been content to enjoy it as a private Person, when through any turn of Affairs, he found himself no longer able to keep his public Employments.

BUT to return to Cardinal *Fleury*; some of his Partizans at the *Spanish* Court, had heard a Whisper of *Chauvelin's* Intercourse with her Majesty; of which they immediately gave his Eminency Notice, who believing it practicable to frighten *Chauvelin* himself into a Confession, dropt some Hints of it to him, but without effect. The Keeper of the Seals knew very well, that the Spies who sent him Hints, could furnish him with no Proofs; and that if his Eminency attacked him without, he should be able to defend himself well enough. By this time he had found Means to screw himself into the good Graces of the Duke of *Bourbon*; and actually made his Highness believe, that he had laid an infallible Scheme for putting him once more at the Head of Affairs, whenever the present Saint of a Minister went to take Possession of his Inheritance, in the Celestial Regions. This too was discovered to the Cardinal, which served to make him only the more uneasy, without putting it fully in his Power to be rid of him. He saw clearly, that if he

procured his Disgrace at present, he should heighten his Character as much as he weakned his Power, and leave him much more considerable than he found him. He resolved therefore to wait a little, in hopes of finding Proofs of the many bad things he had heard; especially as to his Behaviour in the high Office of Vice Chancellor of *France*. Which however if he could have accomplished, would have turned very strongly upon himself, since it was he who rais'd him to that Post, not a little contrary to Justice, and the Laws of the Kingdom.

WHILE the Cardinal was in this Perplexity, and knew not how to deliver himself, a much abler Man than he was hard at work in his Service, and did that which he would never have arrived at. This was M. *Patinho*, the Confident of her Catholic Majesty. He was too great a Politician, not to discern the Influence *Chauvelin* would have gained at his Court, in Case his Intrigues had proved successful. For this reason he cross'd them, and when he had clear Proof of what the Keeper of the Seals had advanced in the *French* Councils, he represented this in such strong terms to his Mistress, that he entirely deprived him of her Confidence. But this was not all he aimed at, he was resolved to give *Chauvelin* up to the Cardinal, to prevent his ever becoming first Minister to his

his most Christian Majesty ; and revenging in that Capacity the Injuries he had done him. With this View, he first addressed himself to the *French* Minister, M. de *V*—and having shewn him how impossible it was that *Chauvelin's* Scheme should ever succeed, he next expressed a great Concern for the Risque the Ambassador would run, if it ever should be discovered, that *Chauvelin's* secret Correspondence was carried on through his Canal. There is no doubt that this alarmed the Ambassador excessively, and put him upon advising with M. *Patinho*, how this Storm might be weathered. The wary Don made it a Matter of mighty Difficulty, but at last proposed to him the following Expedient.

HE observed to Mr. *V*—, that the only means to secure himself must be, to send some of M. *Chauvelin's* Letters to the Cardinal; and he undertook in case he did this, not only to secure him from the Resentment of the *Spanish* Court, but also to engage her Majesty to approve his Conduct. When the thing was carried thus far, M. *Patinho* represented to his Mistress that any farther Correspondence with the Keeper of the Seals, was of no Consequence, since it was not probable that he could now find his Account in applying himself to the Court of *Vienna*; the only thing

thing she otherwise had to fear. At first her Majesty would by no means listen to this Advice, but when she saw that a Peace must be made on the Terms prescribed by *France*, and that in spite of her Aversion to him, the Cardinal would always remain at the Head of Affairs in that Kingdom, she saw the absolute Necessity of closing with this disagreeable Proposition, as the only means that could atone for what was past, and afford any probable View of keeping the Cardinal in her Interest for the future.

THERE was at this time in *Italy*, a certain Marshal of *France*, of very great Penetration, and who had suffered deeply from the Intrigues of *Chauvelin*. He had long suspected his Intrigues with the Court of *Madrid*, and having a great Confidence in M. V —, he wrote to him on that Subject. The Ambassador received his Letter at the very Instant of time, that he was contriving how to reveal the Mystery of *Chauvelin's* Behaviour, to the French Court. He immediately seized the favourable Opportunity, and knowing the Marshal was on the Road to *Paris*, he dispatched thither a Courier with an Answer to his Letters, and with a Pacquet of M. *Chauvelin's* secret Epistles directed to the Cardinal. As soon as the Marshal received these, he readily executed his Commission, while
M.

M. V. — gave out at *Madrid*, that his strong Box had been stolen by his Wash-
erwoman, for the Sake of a parcel of Jew-
els in it; which Story was quickly cir-
culated in the News Papers, through all
Europe.

By having these Letters in his Possessi-
on, the Cardinal seemed Master of his
Competitors Fortune; yet when he con-
sidered the Spirit of the Man; his Interest
with the Court of *Spain* (for as yet it did
not appear that the Queen had abandoned
him) and his Connection with the *Bourbon*
Family; he was doubtful whether he ought
to attack him. He knew indeed that the
King would banish him as soon as he de-
sired it; but as he knew at the same time,
that a very strong Party was formed against
his Administration, and that *Chauvelin* was
capable of giving them great Assistance, he
was afraid to give them so fair a Handle,
or to provoke him too far. In the midst
of these Meditations, he received a Letter
from Mr. *Patinho*; in which he explained
to him the Nature of *Chauvelin's* Corres-
pondence, the Reasons which had induced
her Majesty to carry it on so long; which
according to him, was meerly to prevent
that Minister from offering his Service to
the Emperor; concluding with the strongest
Assurances of his Mistress's sincere Affec-
tion for the Cardinal, and an exact Trans-
cript

cript of all the Letters that were mentioned. This set the Cardinal's Heart at ease, he now saw the Keeper of the Seals in the very Situation he desired to see him, given up by the *Spanish* Court; and in case he was protected by the Duke of *Bourbon*, he saw clearly that this would revive the old Prejudice of the *Spanish* Court against that Prince; a thing which concerned him full as much as the Ruin of *Chauvelin*.

ALL the necessary Steps being taken with the utmost Secrecy, for the Unravelling this great Affair; the Count *de Maurepas* waited on M. *Chauvelin* on the 19th of *February*, 1737, with a Letter *de Cachet*, from his Majesty, directing him to deliver the Seals to that Nobleman, and to set out immediately for his House at *Groisbois*, and there to wait the Kings farther Orders. The Keeper of the Seals, was not a little astonished at a Thing of which he had not the least Notice. He delivered the Seals however immediately, and then desired very earnestly to speak with the Cardinal; but that was refused him, and he was sent to *Groisbois* under a Guard. As soon as this was known at *Paris*, all the Courtiers flew to make their Compliments to Cardinal *Fleury*; for though they had not the least Knowledge of the Cause of *Chauvelin's* Disgrace, yet as he was disgraced, and disgraced by the Cardinal's Direction;

rection; this was a fresh Instance of the Plenitude of his Power, and a Thing therefore which in their Opinion, called aloud for new Marks of Esteem and Attachment.

As soon as Count *Maurepas* brought the Seals to the King, his Majesty gave or rather restored them to M. *Daguesseau* Chancellor of *France*, and it was declared that the Office of Keeper of the Seals, was once more united to the Dignity of Chancellor. The King likewise sent a Letter *de Cachet* to the Parliament; directing them to cancel the Patent of Vice Chancellor, which had been granted to M. *Chauvelin*. M. *Amelot de Chaillou*, who was Superintendant of the Finances, was declared Secretary of State, and Minister for foreign Affairs; and his former Employment given to M. *Orry de Fulvy*, Brother to the Comptroller General. These Changes seemed to intimate a kind of Revolution in the Administration, and therefore the Cardinal thought it necessary to inform all the foreign Ministers, that though his Majesty found it requisite to make some Alterations as to Persons, yet he would make none as to Things; but persist steadily in the Measures he had hitherto pursued, and he desired that their respective Courts might be acquainted with this Declaration. Much about the same time, he caused the following Letter to be published,

ed, which he wrote to M. *Chauvelin* at *Groisbois*, a few Days after his Disgrace in order to prejudice the Public against that Minister, and at the same time to prepossess them in his own Favour.

Cardinal *Fleury* to M. *Chauvelin*.

“ I WOULD not have you complain that
 “ I have drawn upon you the King’s In-
 “ dignation, for if you reflect upon your
 “ own Conduct, you will easily discern
 “ how justly it has thrown you into this
 “ Disgrace. The King honoured you with
 “ his Favours, and with his Confidence.
 “ You have abused the latter so much, as
 “ to endeavour breaking the Measures his
 “ Majesty had taken, for restoring the Peace
 “ of *Europe*, and the Tranquillity of his
 “ Subjects. You know with what Open-
 “ ness of Heart, I have always acted to-
 “ wards you. In spite of this, you have
 “ treated me in a Manner the most unjust-
 “ tifiable. Remember Sir, what I said to
 “ you, on the first Discovery of certain In-
 “ telligences. The Manner in which I
 “ spoke to you, made me hope that you
 “ would make amends for your past Mis-
 “ take; by discontinuing these Practices
 “ for the future. If it was myself alone
 “ that had reason to complain of you, I
 “ should be the less sensible; but the Wel-
 “ fare

"fare and Repose of the State, are very
 "much interested therein, and therefore I
 "could be no longer indifferent. You
 "have been wanting, Sir, to the King,
 "the Nation, and yourself. These are
 "harsh things to say to you; but the Mis-
 "fortune is, that they are nevertheless true.
 "The King however satisfies himself with
 "removing you from about his Person,
 "without touching your Effects. How
 "few Princes having such just reasons to
 "be offended, would have acted as he has
 "done. Admire the Clemency of the
 "King, feel a just Regret for the Faults
 "you have committed, and confess how
 "happy you are in being the Subject of so
 "gentle and so indulgent a Master.

"Adieu."

IN a few Days after this, M. *Chauve-*
lin had orders to retire to *Bourges*, where
 however he was allowed to live in what
 manner he thought fit, and to receive what
 Company he pleased. This, considering
 his generous Temper and great Estate, gave
 him an Opportunity of making a great Fi-
 gure, and of increasing the Number of his
 Friends. It was for a long time thought,
 that his Disgrace would be but short, and
 that he would return to Court, and be in
 as great Credit there as he was before. But
 this proved a Mistake; for notwithstanding

all the Attempts that were made to set him right with the Cardinal, or to engage the King to think of bringing him back; it never could be effected, though the former spoke of him with Concern and Regret, and the King did not manifest any great Displeasure against him. He is still however in the same Situation, at a Distance from the Court, deprived of all his Employments, looked upon as a dangerous Person, and yet lives in Ease and Splendor; is caressed, admired, and supported by many of the first Quality, who still flatter themselves he will be one Day a Minister again.

THE Conduct of the Cardinal in this respect has occasioned much Speculation. Some blame him for not using greater Severity, others commend his Generosity and Magnanimity. At the Bottom perhaps neither are in the right. If his Eminence had thought fit to have prosecuted M. *Chauvelin*, many things might have appeared in the legal Course of such an Affair, which would have given the Court more Trouble than the Criminal; and therefore such a Proceeding was not eligible. Yet without a formal Process, his Estate and Effects could not be come at. On the other Hand, the Indulgence with which M. *Chauvelin* was treated, restrained him more than the greatest Severities could have done. While he was under the Influence of Hope,
it

it was much less probable that he should run out into passionate Expressions, than if he had been urged by ill Usage, or tortured by Despair. The Judgment therefore the Cardinal made of this Matter was a right one, and it's Effects made it appear so: M. *Chauvelin* wrote and published a long Apology for his own Conduct, in which the King and the Cardinal are treated with equal Respect, and he lays the whole Blame of his Misfortunes upon the Malice of his Enemies. As able and as penetrating a Man as M. *Chauvelin* was, it was a long time before he was convinced of the Cardinal's Address, and that the Calmness and Patience with which he behaved, were the sure Effects of a cool and unremoveable Resentment. When he found this, he altered his Conduct, but then it was too late; many things were forgotten, more could not be proved, and most were looked upon as flowing meerly from Rage and Disappointment. Thus it became evident, that our Statesman had more in him of the *Mazarin*, than of the *Richlieu*, and was able to preserve himself at the Expence, and yet without the total Ruin of others; but besides all this the *Spanish* Court exacted from the Cardinal a Promise, that M. *Chauvelin* should be gently treated; his Diligence, Activity, and dextrous Management, made her Catholic Majesty as little inclined to see

see him absolutely undone, as to leave him still in the Ministry after the Manner in which he had used him. These then were the Motives which induced the Cardinal to shew so much Lenity toward the disgraced Keeper of the Seals; and the Reader must see that in them there is more of Timidity, Dissimulation, and Self-Interest, than Love of Justice or Greatness of Mind. This is Truth, and Truth ought to be spoken. Ministers are too much flattered by their Creatures; such as know no Dependance, ought to write without disguise.

ONE principal Maxim of the Cardinal's System of Politics was, securing at all Events the zealous Support of the Clergy, though to do this he was sometimes obliged to have recourse to brisker Measures than suited with his Inclination; especially when it appeared, that by persecuting *Jansenism* it was rather promoted than depressed. However the Cardinal went on as he had begun, and though he had not all the Fire of some of his Predecessors, yet he did enough to alarm the Parliament, and to create such Disturbances on that Head, as did not seem to agree very well with the Mildness of his Administration in other respects. The Business of the Abbé *Paris*, and the *Convulsionists* gave him new Trouble, and the Behaviour in this Respect of

M. de

M. *de Montgeron*, Counsellor of the Parliament of *Paris*, is an Incident that deserves to be mentioned; because it is a Thing very extraordinary in itself, and at the same time shews how absolute a Command the Minister exerted over the Person whom his Duty should have led him to obey.

M. *de Montgeron*, was at this time upwards of fifty Years of Age, of a very lively Wit, agreeable Conversation, and in point of Character generally esteemed a Man of Honour. He had been educated by a Tutor who was better acquainted with the Classics than the Scriptures, and who was therefore much more careful about his Proficiency in the *Belles Lettres*, than his Progress in Religion. When he came to enter upon Business, and to converse abroad in the World, he threw himself into the broad Road, and never declined any kind of Pleasure. In this Course of Life he stifled for many Years, all Sentiments of Devotion, and by living without Reflection contracted a kind of habitual Prejudice against Religion. A Fit of Sickness awakened him out of his Lethargy, he began to think a little; and according to the Custom of the Country applied himself to a spiritual Guide. His Discourses had a very odd Effect, instead of settling the Principles of M. *de Montgeron*, or at least settling them in the Way that
might

might have been expected; they gave him such a Disgust to Revelation that he became first a Deist and then a sort of Spinosist, upon a System of his own. In this Disposition of Mind he was when the Affair of Abbé *Paris* began first to be talked of. Every body knows that this Abbé had resolutely opposed the famous Constitution, *Unigenitus*; and that dying in these Sentiments, the *Jansenists* pretended that abundance of Miracles were done by his Mediation, and at his Tomb. It is easy to guess how these Reports were treated by a Person of *M. de Montgeron's* Principles. But as he was a Man of great Candour and much Temper, so by his frequent Conversation on this Subject with People of good Sense, though in different Sentiments, he came at last to reflect more seriously on the Matter, and by Degrees took a Resolution to examine it in every thing to the Bottom.

ON the 7th of *September* 1731, he went to the Church-Yard where the Abbé *Paris* was buried, and finding abundance of People on their Knees before the Tomb; he was struck on a sudden in such a manner as he could not account for. He threw himself on his Knees amongst the rest, covered his Face with his Hands, and notwithstanding the Inconvenience of the Place, the Coldness of the Night, and the vast Throng of People, that continually pressed upon

upon him; he remained in this Posture four Hours, and in that Space a regular Series of Thoughts demonstrative of the Truth of the Christian Religion, presented themselves in his Mind, and he arose not only a Convert to revealed Religion, but an absolute Devotee. This strange Alteration in the Principles of a Man of his Rank made a very great Noise, especially when it appeared that it was not a bare Change wrought in his Opinions; but such a Revolution in Sentiments as governed all his Actions, and made him strictly and properly a New Man. In 1732 he was banished with his Brethren the Counsellors of the Parliament of *Paris*, and at the Foot of the Mountains of *Auvergne*, he formed a Design of publishing an exact Account of the Miracles of Abbé *Paris*, and presenting it to the King. To the Execution of this Subject, he sacrificed his Time, his Estate, his Repose, and his Liberty. He began with praying, fasting, and giving liberal Alms; applied himself assiduously to the Duties of his Function, abandoned all Sorts of Pleasures, cut himself off as much as possible from all Conversation with the World; and laboured with the utmost Diligence to compleat the great Work he had undertaken.

HE finished at length this favourite Piece, which swelled to a considerable Volume in Quarto. The Title of it was the Truth
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of the Miracles wrought by the Intercession of M. *de Paris*, demonstrated against the Archbishop of *Sens*. It opens with a very respectful Dedication to the King, in which however some very delicate Points are treated with much Dexterity and Address. This Dedication was signed with his own Hand, then follows the History of his Conversion; in which he lays open his own Failings with wonderful Ingenuity. Then come nine Relations of as many Miracles wrought on diseased People, each supported by authentic Testimonies. This Work was adorned with twenty fine Copper Plates, besides the Portrait of Abbé *Paris* at the beginning of the Book. He printed six thousand Copies at his own Expence, and when the Matter was thus far advanced, he collected a certain Number of the most pious People of his own Perswasion, and kept them for a whole Week in his own House, in order to pray for the Success of his Expedition. On the 20th of *July*, M. *de Montgeron* in his Robe of a Magistrate, went to *Versailles* and presented himself before his Majesty while he was at Dinner. When the King rose and was going into another Apartment, he stepped forward, and in the most humble Posture offering his Book to his Majesty, addressed him in these Words. "Sire, the ardent Zeal I have for your Majesty's Service, obliged me to compose this
" Work

“ Work, in order to discover many Truths
 “ which are concealed from you; though
 “ it is for your Interest to be acquainted
 “ with them, and to lay open certain Pro-
 “ jects that are secretly carried on to the
 “ Prejudice of your Royal Authority. I
 “ know Sire, that the Step I am taking
 “ will draw upon me the Hatred of such
 “ as employ their utmost Efforts to hinder
 “ your Majesty from coming at the Know-
 “ ledge of the Facts, the Proofs of which
 “ are contained in this Volume; but I have
 “ not hesitated to expose myself to the
 “ utmost of their Resentments, when I
 “ saw this Step necessary for the Service
 “ of your Majesty, and the Promotion of
 “ true Religion.” The King appeared ex-
 ceedingly surprized at so unexpected an Ad-
 venture. His Majesty however heard atten-
 tively all that M. *de Montgeron* had to
 say, and when he had done, received his
 Book with great Civility and Kindness, put
 it immediately into the Hands, of the Duke
de Villeroy, Captain of his Guards, and then
 went into his Closet with a Design proba-
 bly to look on it.

CARDINAL *Fleury* who was not present
 when the Book was presented, followed
 his Majesty to his Closet as soon as he knew
 that he had dined, and carried with him
 the Famous M. *Herault*, then Lieutenant
 General *de Police* who happened that Day

to be at *Versailles*. As soon as they came in, the King cried out, *M. le Cardinal*, a Person I do not know brought me a Book to Day. And did your Majesty receive it? said the Cardinal gravely. Yes replied the King, but I have not opened it, here it is. *M. Herault* no sooner cast his Eyes upon it, then he cried out, the Miracles of *Abbé Paris*; I seized 5000 of these this very Morning, it is written by *M. Montgeron*, and I came to *Versailles* on purpose to acquaint your Eminence with this Affair. The Cardinal who made no doubt that the Author was not far off, ordered him to be apprehended immediately, however on the strictest Search he was not to be found. It is certain that he conducted the Affair strange, as it was with a great deal of Address; for as soon as he withdrew out of the King's Presence, he quitted *Versailles*, and went to *St. Cloud*, where he presented his Book to the Duke of *Orleans*; then he returned to *Paris*, carried a Copy to the First President, another to *M. Gilbert de Voisins*, Advocate General, and a third to *M. Jolly de Fleury*, Attorney General; after this he returned to his own House, which about two in the Morning he found to be surrounded by a Guard, and the Officer who commanded them threatned to break the Doors open; *M. de Montgeron* ordered them to be admitted, and on their presenting

presenting a Letter *de Cachet* which directed that he should be immediately carried to the Bastile, he very respectfully kissed the Letter, and surrendered himself.

As soon as this Transaction was known, the Parliament testified their Uneasiness by a solemn Deputation, composed of twenty-two Counsellors and seven Presidents, who on the 2d of *August* presented themselves before the King at *Versailles*, where the First President informed his Majesty that they were extremely grieved to see a Member of their Body become in so extraordinary a Manner the Object of his Majesty's Indignation; that if M. *de Montgeron* had been guilty of any Crime, they desired his Majesty to put him into their Hands, in order to his being punished according to his Deserts; but at the same time besought his Majesty that he would not violate those Privileges which they held in common with the Princes of the Blood. The King answered, that he had thought proper to punish M. *de Montgeron* for an Insult offered to his Person, and that if he thought fit to carry this matter any farther, he would communicate his Intentions to the Parliament. Soon after, this Counsellor was released upon a Promise of not writing any more about the Miracles of Abbé *Paris*, and ordered to retire to a Monastery till his Majesty's Pleasure should be farther known.

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This Business though it ended thus in Public, occasioned abundance of private Spectulations, because it rendered it evident, that let the Matter be ever so important, there was no Way of bringing it to the King's Eye or Ear, but through the Cardinal; which gave a great deal of Discontent, especially when it likewise appeared, that even the Parliament was not safe from his Eminency's Resentments, and that in short, He exercised in *France* a more unbounded Authority than is even claimed by any of the Monarchs of the *East*.

OUR Statesman was too wise, and too well informed not to understand all this, and therefore he began to consider with himself whom he should make choice of to supply the Loss of M. *Chauvelin*, and to relieve him from the Fatigues of an Office equally burthened with Business and Envy. It was some time before he could resolve on making choice of a Coadjutor, who from the Nature of things must be also his Successor, and therefore till such a one could be found, he chose to repose himself in part on M. *Amelot*, to whom also he intrusted all Conferences with foreign Ministers, when he was either busy or indisposed.

HIS Eminency's Thoughts were at present taken up with the great Work of a General Peace. He had indeed prescribed the

the Terms to all the Parties, but he was very sensible that this gained more Reputation to the Power of his Master's Arms, than to the Wisdom or Justice of his Minister's Proceedings. He had acquired the noble Dutchy of *Lorrain*, but then this Acquisition was looked upon with an evil Eye, by every Power in *Europe*, the Allies of *France* not accepted. Yet if we lay aside this Acquisition, this War and this Peace had produced nothing great or glorious, even in the Opinion of *French* Men. The Cause, nay, and the Person of King *Stanislaus* had been abandoned, and as to the Expedient of his being acknowledged for rightful King of *Poland*, and then abdicating, it served only to shew that the Allies of *France* were her Creatures, for otherwise what Claim had *France* to an Equivalent for the Loss of a King of *Poland*, and on the other hand, that the justest Titles could not bind *French* Faith any longer than till they could be well paid for deserting them. The Emperor saw himself constrained to make the best of a very bad Affair, and he did it with a View to make his Posterity easy, as well as to establish a firm and solid Peace among the Catholic Powers; from whence he was promised however as many strange things should follow as ever had been expected from the Treaty of *Vienna*. *Spain* and *Sardinia*
were

were with much difficulty brought to accede to this Peace, the former on promise that all her Views should be considered in a subsequent Scheme, and the latter was allowed to enter a Protest as to a Claim on a certain District; the not obtaining of which gave as bad an Opinion of *French* Faith to this King as ever his Father had entertained of *Imperial* Promises. Thus after it had taken almost as much time in negotiating as had been spent in the War, the definitive Treaty was signed at *Versailles* on the 21st of *April*, 1739, by the Prince of *Lichtenstein*, M. *Amelot*, and the Marquis de la *Mina*, the King of *Sardinia* having acceded to it before, by an Instrument signed the 3d of *February* the same Year, by his Minister M. *de Solara*.

I SHALL say nothing of the King's Letter to the Archbishop of *Paris*, on the Conclusion of this Peace, and the great Solemnity used in proclaiming it at *Paris*; because I cannot by any means reconcile these pompous Ceremonies, which were certainly used to lull the Emperor asleep, to the Candour and Sincerity of which some People boasted so much, when at the very Instant this Step was taken, the Cardinal was negotiating a Match between a Daughter of *France*, and the Infant Don *Philip*, for whose Establishment this Treaty was all to be unravelled. The Marriage

age not long after took place, and the young Princess was sent to *Spain*, as a Pledge for the King and Cardinal's Performance of all her Catholic Majesty's Wishes.

ABOUT this time it appeared that his Eminency had filled up the Place M. *Chauvelin* formerly held in his Confidence, and that M. *Tençin* Archbishop of *Embrun* was the Man. He it was that projected the new Scheme, which has since given *France* and all *Europe* besides so much Trouble. It is necessary therefore that I should say something of him, and as I am sure to speak without Partiality, I will also endeavour to avoid Prejudice. Abbé *Tençin* appeared in the World with all the Advantages that high Birth and great Parts could afford; but at the same time these were balanced by the Irregularity of his Manners, and a Proneness to undertake any thing that might contribute to gratify his Passions; among which Ambition was none of the weakest. He had resided as a Minister many Years at the Court of *Rome*, where, though the *Italians* are not the nicest People in the World in point of Morals, the Opinion they entertained of his Heart, lessened very much the Justice they did to his Head. In short, they thought him very able but not over-honest. We have already observed that the Cardinal readily used such People of Capacity as he found in public

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Posts;

Posts; and this accounts for his continuing Abbé *Tençin*, who however had so little a Share originally in his good Graces, that when through his Intrigues he had procured the Chevalier's Nomination to a Hat, his Eminency opposed it. How he afterwards came to overcome this Disgust, and to force himself in a Manner into his Favour, is no great Secret to the World. As Archbishop of *Embrun*, he did the Court and the Cardinal most signal Service in the Affair of the Bishop of *Senez*, whom he condemned in a packed Council, which made so great a Noise in the World, and which drew along with it many shameful Consequences. From that time he was always considered as a principal Counsellor in Ecclesiastical Affairs, and by degrees his Notions came to be relished in Matters of State. To give him the greater Lustre, and to wipe off, or rather to cover, the Stains which these Intrigues left upon his Character, it was now thought proper to accept the Favour which the Chevalier had before intended him, and accordingly a Hat was sent him from *Rome*, the beginning of this Year, and which he received from the Hands of his most Christian Majesty, on the 4th of *March*, when he made the following extraordinary Speech, that deserves to be ever remembered.

“ Sire,

“ SIRE, For the Cardinal’s Hat, I stand
 “ indebted to a great Prince, who has sacri-
 “ ficed his All for the Sake of Religion. I
 “ am now going to receive the Ensigns of
 “ that Dignity from the Hands of your Ma-
 “ jesty, who likewise do all for the Sake
 “ of Religion. I am fully sensible of all
 “ the Engagements I lie under, and nothing
 “ shall ever prevent my Endeavours to ful-
 “ fil them.”

ON the 28th of *May*, he was enstalled in this high Dignity in the Cathedral Church of *Embrun*, and was thenceforward considered as Cardinal *Fleury*’s Coadjutor.

THE Influence of this new Adviser quickly appeared in some very warm Proceedings against the *Jansenists*, especially against the *Nuns* of the Convent of *Mount Calveri*, who were treated with extraordinary Rigour; and soon after the University of *Paris* received a severe Check, and though they endeavoured to secure themselves under the Protection of the Parliament, yet even this proved of no Sort of Consequence, except that it drew some Marks of the Royal Displeasure on the Parliament itself. For though Cardinal *Fleury* always spoke with great Tenderness and Affection of the People, yet from his manner of Speaking it was commonly evident that he meant the lower Sort, and that his Affection

was only a kind of Compassion; for as to the Privileges of the Parliament, and whatever else tended to secure either Civil or Ecclesiastical Rights, he was, though not so warm, yet as determined an Enemy to them, as ever the most arbitrary Minister had been. His Zeal for the Constitution, *Unigenitus*, did not proceed either from *Bigottry*, or Attachment to the Pope; but rather from a Desire of extending the Royal Power, and supporting the Prerogative in all it's Branches. With the same View he promoted another Scheme, in relation to Property. There were in *France* many perpetual Annuitants, or to speak in an *English* Phrase, Proprietors of Irredeemables; who had purchased Annuities, payable out of the public Revenue for ever. These his Eminency looked on with an evil Eye, and resolved to change the Nature of their Property, as not consistent with an absolute Monarchy; wherein none ought to have a fixed or permanent Title, but the Prince. He carried his Point by two Lotteries, one in 1735, the other in 1739, wherein the Tickets were only to be purchased by perpetual Annuitants; and the Prizes entitled them to nothing more than higher Annuities, for the Life of the fortunate Adventurer, or the Person which he or she should name. It may seem somewhat strange,
that

that so ordinary a Fetch as this, should have it's Effects, and should induce People to change the most settled Estate for the most precarious; but the Wonder will be lost, whenever we live to see a Nation poor in reality, and rich in Imagination, willing to conceal the Truth from their Cotemporaries, and leave it open to Posterity. In such a Case, Men will always prefer themselves to their Heirs, and think it a good Purchase if they can procure wherewith to live luxuriously in their own Life-times, though they leave their Children no other Inheritance than intolerable Poverty, made so by being bred in a Manner utterly inconsistent with their Fortunes. But if it should be enquired why, since the Cardinal was not luxurious himself, he should take this Step in Favour of those that were; the Answer is plain, he was willing to leave the King's Hands at Liberty; that whenever he entered upon a War, he might be able to borrow afresh.

THE Affairs of *Spain*, gave our Statesman at this time, more trouble than those of *France*. That Crown had embroiled itself with *Great Britain*, on Account of the Trade to the *West Indies*, in respect of which the *French* had always given secret Assurances to the Court of *Madrid*, that she should be supported, if her Firmness in this Point produced a Rupture. The
Reason

Reason was, that the Cardinal intended to divert, by degrees, that Channel of Commerce into the Hands of the *French*, that the Treasures of the *Indies*, might remain the sole Possession of the House of *Bourbon*. This Project, which probably he took, as he did all the rest, from the Suggestion of some Person or other, in whose Knowledge he had a great Confidence, was far from being well founded. To say the Truth, though fair in Appearance, it was in itself impracticable, and therefore it was very lucky for *France*, that the Cardinal did not rush into a War, as he intended, in support of the *Spanish* Pretensions. He sent however in 1739, in a very mysterious Manner, a considerable Force into the *West Indies*; but the Orders were so worded, that M. *D'Antin* thought it safest to return without performing any thing, for which he would have received little Thanks, if before that time Affairs had not taken a new turn, and the Cardinal been obliged to turn his Thoughts another way.

It is true, that the Remains of Interest he had with a certain Ministry, gave him an Opportunity of coming off pretty well in this rash Affair; but if that Squadron had actually attacked the *English*, it would probably have exasperated them to such a Degree, as to have changed the whole System.

tem of their Politics, and without doubt if they had exerted their Superiority at Sea, with that Spirit which they have sometimes shewn, they might have humbled the House of *Bourbon* exceedingly, and have changed the whole Face of Affairs in *Europe*. Of this M. *Tençin*, was so sensible, that he advised the Cardinal to be passive under very provoking Circumstances, and trust some rather to the grand Scheme that was then forming, than to a Junction with *Spain*, against *Great Britain*, which must necessarily have produced such attacks, as the combined Powers could never have withstood. To this his Eminency yielded, but in such an aukward Way, that all the World saw he only smothered an impuissant Resentment.

THE Cardinal's new Assistant, laid hold of this Opportunity of shewing him with great Dexterity, that all his Schemes had hitherto been built upon a narrow Foundation; and that he ought to make Use of the high Reputation he had acquired, and of his personal Credit, with most of the Powers in *Europe*, to engage them in some general System, which might promise particular Advantages to them all under the Auspice of *France*; which would, in the first Place, enable him to execute whatever he had in view, and in the next, prevent the Maritime Powers; the only natural
and

and perpetual Checks upon *France*, from forming any such Alliances as in times past they had done, and thereby defeated all the great Schemes of *Lewis* the XIVth, assisted by the ablest Ministers of which perhaps any Prince could boast. To engage him to fall the more easily into this Method of acting, he put him in mind of several Steps he had taken, with such an apparent Disinterestedness, as must secure an implicit Confidence to whatever Promises he thought fit to make; the Execution of which would always remain in his own Power; and subject to such Explications as he should find it proper to give them. At the same time, he ran through the Difficulties and Distresses of several Courts, and convinced his Eminency, that by a dextrous Application to the Views of Sovereigns, and the Passions of their Ministers, it would be an easy Matter to gain an universal Influence, by means of which he might prescribe what Terms of Peace he pleased; or if he found it more for the Interest of *France*, to kindle War in what Quarter of *Europe* he thought fit, without finding himself obliged to declare on one Side, or other, or at least of becoming a Principal, which by Experience his Eminency had found, was a Charge, which in her present Circumstances *France* could not bear. The first Effects of these fine Lessons, appeared
in

in the Mediation of a Peace between the Emperor and the *Turks*, and in cajolling the Court of *Sweden*; in both of which Success exceeded Expectation: So that thenceforward the Cardinal became quite a new Man, and believed himself able not only to conduct the Affairs of a great Monarchy, but, like another *Atlas*, to ease Providence of her Burden, and to take, upon occasion, the Universe upon his Shoulders. As soon as this Turn was perceived by the foreign Ministers, they quickly began to make their court by indulging it; particularly M. *V—H—*, who sometimes push'd the Matter to such Extremities, that, in the Judgment of Standers-by, he flatter'd his Eminency to a Degree of Ridicule, by which he gained his Favour indeed, but without attaining any great Credit himself, or doing his Country any real Service.

THE Death of the Emperor *Charles VI.* which happen'd on the 20th of *October* 1740, opened a fair Road to Cardinal *Fleury*, who immediately resolv'd to lay hold of that Opportunity of establishing his Master's Influence, and his own, over all the States of *Europe*. It is true, that by the late definitive Treaty, *France* had guarantee'd the Pragmatic Sanction in the most solemn Manner that Words could express, and had even engag'd to support it against all Pretenders with all its Forces: But, accord-

ing to the new System, all this might be taken off by an Explanation; and for that the two Cardinals, when they laid their Heads together, could not be at a Loss. But, in the first place, it was held proper to acknowledge the Queen of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* in that Quality, and to inform the Ministers of the *Maritime Powers*, that his Most Christian Majesty would religiously perform his Guarantee, that Measures might be more securely taken to frustrate and subvert it. The *French* Ministers in all the *German* Courts were ordered to speak the same Language, and to obtain the best Account they could of the Pretensions form'd upon the *Austrian* Succession. When by these Intrigues many of them had been drawn to explain themselves, the *French* Ministers engaged them to converse with each other; and having given them very adroitly to understand, that the Bear's Skin was to be divided, every one instantly put in for a Share, and all of them jointly agreed to call in the Assistance of *France*. The Pretences made use of to colour this Behaviour were these: That the late Treaty was not binding, because not ratified by the Empire; which however could have no farther Reference than to such Parts of the Treaty as concerned the Empire: That in guaranteeing the Pragmatic Sanction, his Most Christian Majesty intended to benefit the

the Emperor's Family, without Prejudice to any other Person's Right; yet, as the Guarantee expressly says, that the Heir prescribed by the Pragmatic Sanction, should be defended against all Pretenders by *France*, this seems to imply expressly the contrary; at least one would think, that the Guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction excluded all Designs of acting directly against it, and that when *France* acknowledged the Queen of *Hungary* under this very Guarantee, she ought not to have concluded from thence that *France* intended to dethrone her: That this definitive Treaty could no way lessen or prejudice the Engagements enter'd into with other Princes long before, particularly those with the Elector of *Bavaria*. If, however, there be any Logic in this Argument, it ought to prove, that if *France* had enter'd into any Engagements with the Elector of *Bavaria*, with which the Guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction appear'd inconsistent, that Guarantee should have been refused.

ALL this and much more was urged against the Cardinal's Scheme in Council, besides what was offered by a great Prince, when the Matter came to be more thoroughly examined, and the vast Advantages *France* was to gain were warmly insisted on. His Highness thought himself obliged to deliver his Sentiments freely as to a Point of such

Importance, wherein the Glory of the King and the Good of his Country were so nearly concerned: "I am so little acquainted
 " with Eloquence, *said he*, that I cannot
 " sufficiently express my Surprize to hear
 " Men speak so well in Support of so bad
 " a Thing; yet, in spite of their fine
 " Speeches, I must have leave to say, that,
 " departing, as they do, from Truth, they
 " cannot avoid frequently contradicting
 " themselves. They say the late Treaty
 " wanted such a Ratification as was neces-
 " sary to render it binding and authentic;
 " yet this is the Treaty by which we hold
 " *Lorrain*; this is the Treaty of which
 " they boasted so much, which they en-
 " gaged the King to tell us was so honour-
 " able and advantageous, and for the Con-
 " clusion of which we made such Rejoic-
 " ings, and gave public Thanks to God.
 " It was good then, and it is good now,
 " in respect to what we hold by it; and if
 " we perform not our Part of it, we may
 " amuse ourselves with Pretences: But we
 " shall never be able either to cheat Provi-
 " dence, or to abuse the World. If the
 " Pragmatic Sanction prejudiced a third
 " Person, who is that third Person? Is it
 " the King of *Spain*? is it the Elector of
 " *Bavaria*? is it the King of *Poland*?
 " For we now espouse all their Claims,
 " against each other, if any of them have
 " Right,

“ Right, as well as against the Princess to
 “ whom the Faith of *France* was plighted
 “ for her Security, in consideration of Ad-
 “ vantages of which we are in Possession.
 “ But we act, you say, in pursuance of
 “ Treaties : Of what Treaties, I beseech
 “ you? Are any of them clearer or more
 “ explicit than this last Treaty? and if not,
 “ why are they preferred? The Princes of
 “ *Germany*, it is true, side with us at pre-
 “ sent; but the first Stroke of Ill-Fortune
 “ will make them reflect that they act
 “ against their Faith, their Interest, and
 “ their Honour. We know how low the
 “ last general War brought us, and into
 “ what Contempt the *French* Faith was
 “ grown; we ought then to study how to
 “ retrieve our Weight and our Reputation,
 “ and not to think of launching out again
 “ into Projects which it is certain we want
 “ Force to execute, and which would only
 “ tend to our Dishonour, if we could.
 “ We are to fight against a Woman and a
 “ Child; but that Woman and that Child
 “ have a Protector, who styles himself pe-
 “ culiarly *the God of Armies* : And I wish
 “ I may prove a false Prophet, when I say
 “ that the Result of this Struggle may be
 “ raising that Woman or Child to such a
 “ Power as may appear as formidable to
 “ us, as we are now to them.”

THIS

THIS Remonstrance, with others of a like Kind, shook Cardinal *Fleury* exceedingly; and in all Probability he would scarce have proceeded farther in this dangerous Design, if the Accession of a certain great Prince to the Allies of *France* in *Germany* had not in a manner compelled him to go on. His Confidants, for he had now two, one of whom we have often named, the other a Soldier and a Statesman, whose Abilities are only exceeded by his high Conceit of them, both pressed his Eminency to go on, as a thing much more easy than going back. They observed to him, that by the Assistance of their new Ally, they might easily make their old one Emperor; which would in a manner secure them Success, by affording a Colour of Right to whatever was purchased by the Sword. They insisted strongly on the Impossibility he was under of satisfying the *Spanish* Court any other way than by carrying this System into Practice, which would effectually establish Don *Philip* in *Italy*, by turning the *Imperial* Authority on that Family, which hitherto had been protected by it. In fine, to cure all his Scruples, his Co-adjutors offered to take the whole Trouble off his Hands; the PRIEST undertook for *Italy*, and the SOLDIER for *Germany*: So that the Cardinal was only to supply all their Demands, and in return

to reap all the Glory of their Enterprizes. He consented at last, but with a heavy Heart. And this is the true Key to that pitiful Letter which he wrote to M. *Königsberg* while he lay before *Prague*; in which Letter he endeavours to persuade him that he was not Author of the War against the Queen of *Hungary*, the whole Weight of which he would willingly throw on the Prince who actually began it.

He had scarce enter'd on the Execution of this Scheme before he discovered, that acting as an Auxiliary was rather more fatal to *France* than acting as a Principal, inasmuch as she was obliged to pay not her own Troops only, but her Allies; to pay them in a foreign Country, from whence the Money never returned by Circulation, but, the Troops themselves, remained in those Regions where their own ill Stars and his ill Luck had sent them. He found too, that the Demands both for Men and Money came much quicker, and rose much higher, than by the Estimates form'd for him they should have done: And the Kingdom having scarce breath'd since the last War, was soon out of Spirits and Patience with this, especially after it appeared that the great Negotiator, who made such a Figure at *Munich*, *Dresden* and *Franckfort*, was able to do nothing at *Berlin*; and was actually coop'd up in *Prague*, when
it

it was expected he should have conferr'd with the Queen of *Hungary's* Ministers, on the Bastions of *Vienna*.

THE very Grounds upon which his Favourites had promised him Success in *Germany*, prov'd the Ruin of that Undertaking; if the whole Confederacy had acted at once, one can scarce conceive how the Queen of *Hungary* could have defended herself, but her own Activity and Foresight for the first Act of her Government was to compleat all her Forces, join'd to the lingering War in *Silesia*, which gave her Time to recollect herself, and to draw together Troops from all Quarters; gave a new Face to Affairs, and hinder'd her from despairing, even when *Bohemia* was lost, and *Vienna* in Danger. The Precaution of keeping the *French* Troops together, and not trusting them to the Command of any Foreign Prince, destroy'd that Confidence which is the Soul of an Alliance, and made way for a separate Peace, which soon stripp'd *France* of all her *German* Allies, save one, and he was stripp'd of his Dominions. Thus Things went quite wrong on this Side, and Men, Money and Reputation were lost together.

IN *Italy* the *French Machiavel* met with almost as bad a Fate; the Prince he promis'd to bring over rejected his Offers with Disdain, and the Prince who was brought over, lost his Country and his Troops, before

fore they could be of any Use to his Purchasers. It is true the *Spaniards* found a Way, and indeed that was not a little strange, to transport an Army into *Italy*, but it was under such Circumstances that the ablest General in the World could do no more than preserve it from a Defeat; and if we consider that he wanted Authority, Money, Artillery, and Allies, we may justly wonder that it was in his Power to do that. It was to no Purpose to persuade the Cardinal that he ought to send an Army thither also, he could not hear the Proposition with Patience, and his Caution in this Respect made *Spain* desperate; and while it was visible that one Army in *Italy* was more than she could maintain, she was forc'd to send another, which prov'd as burdensome to the *French* Province, as if they had suffer'd an Invasion. It was then our old Statesman began to repent he had ever quitted his Pacific Character; it was then he saw the Folly of embracing Designs beyond the Power of Man to execute; it was then he wished for a Retreat, and perhaps would have made it, had not those who brought him into this difficult Situation, found it necessary to force him to keep his Station, that under his Authority, they might shelter themselves. He tried in vain to resume his old Method of Negotiation; it was now as little in his Power to deceive as to conquer, and instead of seeing the

greatest Men in *Europe*, Ambassadors at the *French* Court, he found himself obliged to confer with Secretaries, and even to flatter them, that he might not be left destitute of Hopes.

FROM this War it appear'd, how much the absolute Power of a single Minister is detrimental, even to the most potent Nation: As military Preferments had been gain'd by Interest and Intrigue, instead of Merit, so the Discipline of the Army had been entirely neglected, if not wilfully destroy'd. The *French* Auxiliaries march'd into *Germany*, as if they had been sent to settle in some Province of that spacious Country, rather than to assist any of its Princes; the Redundance of their Equipage, the Incumbrance of their Baggage, struck the *Germans*, its true, with Amazement, but not of that sort which is produced by Fear. As for the Queen of *Hungary's* *Hussars*, they applied their old Maxim very happily, *That Folk who have much to lose have seldom any great Stomachs to fight*. The Eagerness which all great Families had shewn to get their Relations Posts in the Army, began now to take another Turn, and the Cardinal's female Acquaintance pester'd him with nothing but Leaves for Absence and Dismissions. In the midst of this Perplexity he saw, what he would never see before, the Necessity of bringing Men of the Sword into

into the King's Councils; and he saw with no small Concern, that as he brought them in by Force, it was more than probable they would be all against him. One cannot wonder that such a Load of Care, added to the Burthen of his Office, and the Weight of his Age, should have an extraordinary Effect on the Temper of our Statesman. It discovered itself first in altering the Evenness of his Temper, in giving an unwonted Edge to his Answers, and making him fond of being alone, which was a thing before he never car'd for: However, even in this Situation he was much more fortunate than most Ministers are, his Credit never declined with his Master, and he retained his Influence over his Creatures to the last; the former was owing to Habit, and a rivetted Opinion of the Cardinal's Wisdom, which of Course rais'd Respect in the same Proportion that wise Councils appear'd necessary; the other was the Result of a just Sense of their own Weakness, and a Desire to hide under the Cardinal's Name, Advices, which in their own, they would have been afraid to give. But in spite of these Succours the old Man's Spirits began daily to decline; he grew out of Humour at the Sight of those Crowds, which were wont to cheer him, and the Train of his Greatness began visibly to weigh him down. His fainting Fits return'd more frequently than formerly, and

tho' they did not continue so long, fatigued him more; yet under all this he could scarce form a steady Resolution of quitting a Post for which he was no longer fit, but suffer'd with a visible Complaisance, the Entreaties of his Master and his Friends to keep him in a Place, whence Nature so plainly, and I may say kindly, shew'd her Intention to remove him.

At last when Cardinal *Tençin* was sent for from *Rome*, every Body expected an absolute Resignation, but whether it was that even at that Time the old Man still retain'd some Relish for Power, or that the new Minister found it more convenient to act for some Time under his Shadow, is not very clear: But this is certain, that Cardinal *Fleury* was still Prime Minister, and laid his Commands on most of the Ministers of State to confer with Cardinal *Tençin*, to which they were very little inclined. The Conduct of this last Minister, when Agent only for the Court of *France* at *Rome*, and the innumerable Intrigues he carried on there to obtain a Hat for *Du Bois*, and to serve all the other Purposes of the Regent, were things too recent not to be remember'd; and as the Abbé *Tençin* had once the Misfortune to be under a Cardinal's Displeasure; this furnished such as did not wish him well with Arguments of a Nature not easily to be refuted. In the End however, Cardinal *Fleury* prevail'd

vail'd, and brought most of the minor Ministers to pay their Respects to his presumptive Successor. This was scarce accomplished before his own great Weakness forc'd him to think of Repose, and therefore he desired the King's Leave that he might remain for a Month undisturbed at *Iffy*. This was granted under some Restrictions; and his Eminency conferr'd only twice a Week with the Secretary of State, or Secretary at War; the last of these, *M. de Bretuil*, fell into a Fit of an Apoplexy as he returned from the Cardinal, which carried him off, and the Concern for which, as some have fancied, hasten'd the Cardinal's End.

HAVING thus done with his Ministry, let us follow him a little into private Life, where it is thought his Character was more amiable, and that he supported his Ministry chiefly by the Affability, Kindness, and good Nature, visible in all his Actions, and which gain'd, kept, and increas'd the Circle of his Friends. In h's younger Days he acquired the Maxim and the Manners of a Court. His Gallantries, of which the beautiful Abbess *de H—s* was the Product, were cover'd by a very decent Behaviour, and by all the external Marks of a regular Conduct; which was the Fashion in the Days of *Lewis XIV.* who though he never wanted Mistresses, and had his Court crowded with his natural Children, yet valued nothing so much as the

the Reputation of being a religious Prince. But the Cardinal was not satisfied with being well with the Ladies; he took Pains also to be upon exceeding good Terms with all who had any Interest at Court, and in this he succeeded to a Wonder, by doing them every little Service in his Power, and desiring nothing in return. His Humility went a great Way in gaining him general Reputation; his Assiduity established his private Friendships, and his Calmness and Moderation, in a great Measure, preserv'd him from the Effects of Court Intrigues.

At Home he liv'd in a very plain and familiar Manner, was a kind of Father to his Domesticks, entertain'd his Friends cheerfully, and was always easy of Access. These Qualities he retain'd in his Ministry, and those who saw him disengaged from Business could not help being charm'd with the Freedom of his Conversation, and his entirely laying aside the Great Man. But the most remarkable Part of his Character, was the peculiar Happiness he had, in distinguishing every Man's Talents and Humour, to which he applied himself so happily, that most of the foreign Ministers fancied themselves particularly in his Favour, and all the Men in Post flatter'd themselves with having his Ear. In their Turns however most of them became sensible that they were deceived, and that his Eminency's Familiarity had

had no very considerable Consequences; and this at last became visible to the World, by Ministers losing their Credit at Home, thro' their undertaking to do every thing with the Cardinal, and being able to accomplish nothing. Of this, but that it is quite unnecessary, many Instances might be produced; but to what Purpose should I take up the Reader's Time at the Expence of other People's Characters, when his own Memory, if he is at all acquainted with these Matters, will supply him with sufficient Proofs.

HIS Felicity consisted chiefly in having Patience to wait for Opportunities, and Skill to apply them. He rose as it were naturally, and without his own Assistance. M. *Villeroi* thought him a Person proper to be the King's Preceptor, and he secured that Prince's Favour in the highest Degree, not by fashioning his Temper to his own, but by a dexterous Indulgence of the King's, which he managed with such Address, that neither Man nor Woman could dispossess him of the Confidence he had acquired; and while they attempted nothing of this kind, they were sure he would do nothing to prejudice them, for his Inclinations went, or seemed always to go, with the King's. He was useful to *Du Bois*, without being at all his Creature, and lived upon such Terms with the Regent himself, that without having either his Esteem or his Favour, he was
always

always treated with Respect, and never received any public Testimonies of his Displeasure. As he had Prudence enough to avoid being involv'd in M. *Villeroi's* Disgrace, so as soon as the Duke of *Bourbon* became First Minister, he solicited the Marshall's Recall, which at once blotted out all Remembrance of his former temporizing: These are indeed but trivial Circumstances, but they are Circumstances that mark the Genius of the Man, and shew how much he was present to himself upon all Occasions. His Conduct in Respect to the Clergy was also of great Service to him. He affected to be always in their Interest, and by being so made them subservient to the Crown, which enabled him to treat the Parliament so roughly as he did in several Instances, and yet by attacking them in a Body, and preserving great Respect and Civility to particular Persons, he maintain'd an extraordinary Interest even among the Members of that illustrious Assembly, who though they thought him mistaken in his Maxims as a Minister, still retain'd a Veneration for his Person.

It is a common Saying, and a true one, that all, and even the best, have their Failings; and without doubt the Cardinal had his; though it must be own'd, that his Regularity and Want of quick Passions, contributed not a little to hide them. He was a
great

great Lover of Good Cheer, and though he did not drink, yet he would sometimes eat a little too freely, which threw him into Loosenesses, that ended in those fainting Fits, with which he was troubled for many Years, before his Death. He was apt to entertain Prejudices against particular Persons, which he had a Faculty of disguising, better becoming a Courtier than a Priest. For he was wont commonly to enumerate all the good Qualities of a Person he disliked, and then to intimate his great Concern for their Foibles, which he would likewise paint in pretty strong Colours, and this was the Signal to his Creatures, to represent the Man in the same Light, to all Companies, though there was not always the greatest Justice in these Censures. He naturally loved little Stories, and private History, which made him like the Company of Women, and induced him to give great Liberties to his Servants. By this means, he was his own Spie, and heard many things which one would scarce imagine could have come to such a Man's Knowledge. But on the other hand, this rendered him very liable to be deceived; and there is no question, that by this Sort of Intelligence, he was as often misled, as set right. The Freedom with which he spoke to *Berjac*, and the Freedom with which that Valet spoke to him, occasioned

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such

such court to be made to this Domestic, as did not do much Honour to his Master. He had his Levy, as well as the Cardinal; and one might sometimes see Persons of as great Distinction at this, as at that, which shews the Temper of a Court; for where servile Adulation is paid to a Minister, because he has the Ear of his Master, it is no great Wonder that People sink into a still lower Degree of Meanness, by making court to the Minister's Minions, in how low a Rank soever they stand. But perhaps the Cardinal's capital Fault was, his desiring to engross Power, as he did his Master, and making all who had a Desire to rise, stoop to be obliged to him. This had, as it must ever have, very bad Effects upon the People; it contributed to give them mean Ideas of him, whom it was their Duty to respect; at the same time that it kept at a Distance from Court, and from Affairs, such as were most capable of making a Figure in the one, and of managing the other with Success. Men of true Parts, have generally speaking high Spirits; and though they know, and are most ready to pay that Obedience which belongs to their Prince, yet they seldom have that Sort of Suppleness, which recommends People to a Prime Minister. This, even Ministers themselves are sensible of, and therefore Cardinal *Mazarin*, and his late Eminency,

Eminency, when the Play was over, and they found themselves obliged to quit the Stage, recommended it to their Masters, never to let any of their Subjects act the same Parts they had done. In this, without doubt, they behaved like good Counsellors; but then it was a little strange, that they should reserve such necessary Advice, so as to give it with their last Breath, unless they meant by that, to have it sink the deeper.

THERE was nothing rais'd his Eminency's Character so much in the Eye of the World, as the little Concern he shew'd for his Family, and yet on his Nephew's being made a Duke, some People were for charging him with Dissimulation in this Respect. In this, however, they certainly did him wrong. It was a Maxim he always maintained, and there is the greatest Reason to believe he was sincere in it, that his Fortune was not of a Nature to be communicated to his Family. He was not either a covetous or a profuse Man, he loved to live well in his own Way, but he had no Notion of heaping up Riches, or of leaving to others, what he thought he had only a Title to use himself. As a Clergyman he enjoy'd his Benefices, but then the Savings from these he bestowed not on his Family, but on the Poor to whom they properly belonged. On the other hand, what he received from his public Posts, he esteemed the Money

of the People, and out of this he thought a Clergyman had no right to raise a private Fortune. This was certainly a just, and generous Way of Thinking, and the only Way by which the Laity can ever be reconciled to the Dominion of the Clergy. But the Cardinal carried this matter still farther, and in that perhaps he carried it too far. He sincerely opposed the preferring his Relations, even where their own Merit might have recommended them, if they had been no way allied to him, and if he was wrong in this, the King was certainly in the right not to let his Humour prevail to the Prejudice of innocent and deserving Persons. The Cardinal shewed the Uprightness of his Heart, in this Respect, by his last Will; wherein he bequeathed his Picture only to the Dutches of *Fleury*, and a very small Estate which he left behind him, to his two Nephews. He left them, it is true, a better Inheritance, *viz.* the Gratitude of a kind Master; but this surely his greatest Enemy can never think Matter of Reproach. His Example in this Respect is very illustrious, the only thing to be feared is, that it will meet with few Imitators.

AFTER what has been said, it will not appear at all astonishing, when we hear that this great Man had scarce a House of his own. His Apartments at *Versailles* were grand,

grand, and magnificently furnished, but these were given him by the King; and he had too much good Sense to scruple the Riches which were only lent him. In his Retreat at *Iffy*, he was not lodged above the Rate of an ordinary Person; and all he had there, exclusive of his Plate and Library, was not worth above six thousand Livres.

THE last time the Cardinal was at Court, was the 5th of *January*, 1743, when he came to wish his Majesty and the Royal Family a happy new Year; and to assist at a grand Council, that was held that Day. His Eminency endeavoured to keep up his Spirits as much as he could, and spoke to every body he saw very graciously. Yet even at that time, he was sensible that he had not long to live. He expressed himself to this Purpose to Count *Maurepas*, who wished him a happy new Year. "You
" will not have an Opportunity (replied
" the Cardinal) of making me that Com-
" pliment again. But be assured, Sir, that
" I sincerely wish you a great many; for
" your own Sake, and for that of the King
" and Kingdom; and I heartily pray, that
" when God shall send you a Successor,
" his Abilities may approach yours." He said something of the same kind to another great Man, and asked very affectionately for the Family of M. *de Bretuil*. When he returned to *Iffy*, he complained of an
unusual

unusual Weariness, and yet he applied himself with great Diligence to the putting his Papers in order, notwithstanding some of his Domesticks intreated him not to fatigue himself; to which he answered, That he should not do it long.

A DAY or two after he found himself worse, and his Physician who was always about him, easily discern'd that his End was not far off, which was more than the Cardinal himself did, for he thought he might have held out some Months. His Stomach grew weak, his Disorder in his Bowels returned, and he had several fainting Fits. When this was known at Court, the King express'd a great deal of Concern, and immediately declar'd his Resolution of going to visit him; which he did often during his Illness, and conferr'd with him sometimes an Hour together. The Queen also made him two Visits, and the Dauphin went to enquire after his Health. On the 15th of *January*, about Noon, his Excellency became altogether senseless, and every body thought he would have expired, yet the next Day he was better, and when the King came in the Afternoon he convers'd with him longer than usual. On the 17th he made his Will; on the 18th he grew much worse, till towards the Afternoon, when the Queen made him a Visit, which lasted twenty Minutes. On the 19th the King paid him another Visit, and after he was
gone

gone the Cardinal sent to him his Pocket-Book, and the List of Benefices, which were presented to his Majesty by Cardinal *Tençin*. On the 20th his Throat began to swell, and he found himself in much greater Pain than ever, as not being able to swallow, or take any Nutriment. An *Irish* Gentleman, who practises Physic at *Paris* without professing it, or making any Advantage thereby, made him a Visit, but could give him no Ease; and then M. *Pettit*, the King's first Surgeon, was sent for to make an Incision, which he perform'd, and for some Time the Patient found himself much reliev'd. He complain'd after the Operation was over, of being oppress'd with Company, upon which the greatest Part of those who were present withdrew. Towards Evening he grew worse again, especially after the King left him, who made him that Day a third Visit. On the 24th her Majesty came a second Time, and soon after the Dauphin. He was much better on the 25th. On the 26th he had two Fits in the Morning, and one in the Afternoon: He slept not that Night. The next Morning he sent a little Packet of Papers to the King: That Day the Inflammation return'd, and towards Night he grew speechless. On the 28th the Pope's Nuncio visited his Eminence, and gave him his Benediction, and the Holy Sacrament, to receive which the Cardinal rais'd himself up a little.

little. On the 29th, about twenty-five Minutes after Twelve o'Clock, he expir'd. A Courier was immediately dispatch'd to *Versailles* with the News, which the King received with Marks of the most sincere Concern, wept abundantly, and order'd that the Players who were come from *Paris* should go back again.

THE Moment the Cardinal's Death was known, Mess. *Maurepas* and *Amelot*, Secretaries of State, went to his Eminency's Apartment at *Versailles*, and sealed up every thing; soon after which they went to *Issy* and did the same. For ten or twelve Days after his Decease, M. *Duparc*, the Cardinal's first Secretary, and the Person he chiefly trusted, carried to the King all the Letters that came address'd to his Eminency. Of these the King returned such as belonged to the Family, and sent the rest to the Secretaries of State.

By his Will, of which M. *Orry*, Comptroller-General of the Finances, and the Abbé *Brisard* were Executors, his Eminency left all his Estate to his Great Nephews, and directed certain Legacies to his Servants. This Estate was easily found, and the Value of it very readily computed. He had by him in Money 50,000 Livres, his Plate and Books were worth 60,000, his Furniture at *Issy* 6000. Out of this he gave 40,000 Livres in small Legacies; so that

that the Remainder did not amount to above 76,000 Liyres, which falls somewhat short of 3800 l. of our Money. The King offered the Abbés *Fleury* the Benefices which the Cardinal had possessed; but they declined accepting them, and desired his Majesty would give them leave to imitate the Example of their Uncle, which, they said, was the richest Legacy he had left them. His Majesty commended their great Modesty and Contempt of Riches, but at the same time added, that it was fit they should have those Benefices, and that he would be obeyed: At the same time the King declared, that he took his Eminency's Family into his special Protection, and that he would provide suitably for all his Relations, and even for his Domestics.

As the Court always makes use of the *Paris Gazette* to convey its Sentiments to the Public, so, upon this Occasion, the following Character of the Cardinal appeared in that Paper:

“ *Andrew-Hercules de Fleury* Cardinal,
 “ and heretofore Bishop of *Frejus*, Grand
 “ Almoner to the Queen, Minister of State,
 “ Post-Master-General, Provisor of the *Sor-*
 “ *bonne*, one of the Forty Members of the
 “ *French Academy*, Honorary Member of
 “ the *Royal Academy of Sciences*, and of
 “ that of *Inscriptions and Belles Lettres*,
 “ and formerly Preceptor to his Majesty,

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“ died

“ died at *Iffy* the 29th of last Month, after
 “ an Illness of three Weeks; in which he
 “ gave the greatest Marks, as well of his
 “ Firmness and Constancy, as of his Piety
 “ and perfect Resignation to the Will of
 “ God. He was Eighty-nine Years, seven
 “ Months and seven Days old, being born
 “ the 22d of *June* 1653. Cardinal *Fleury*
 “ having been named by the late King to
 “ be Preceptor to his Majesty, succeeded
 “ happily in that Employment; and *France*
 “ may be said to stand indebted for many
 “ Advantages which at this Day she enjoys,
 “ to the warm Zeal and high Capacity
 “ with which he discharged this Trust.
 “ The Success of those difficult and im-
 “ portant Negotiations with which he was
 “ charged, have acquired him a great Re-
 “ putation, which has spread itself through-
 “ out all *Europe*, and which he deserv’d
 “ from the Strength of his Genius, the Extent
 “ of his Knowledge, and all the other Qua-
 “ lities of Mind which are most desirable
 “ in a Minister. The Amiability of his
 “ Character, Affability, Modesty and Dis-
 “ interestedness, did not render him less
 “ estimable than his continual Application
 “ to the Administration of the Affairs of
 “ the State, and the tender and respectful
 “ Sentiments he always had for the Person
 “ of the King. But of all the great Qua-
 “ lities which Cardinal *Fleury* united in
 “ himself,

“ himself, and by which he became as
 “ worthy of universal Praise, as his Loss
 “ deserves universal Regret, that which
 “ ought chiefly to heighten his Character,
 “ and render his Memory respected, was
 “ the great Care he took to justify the Con-
 “ fidence the King had in him, by using
 “ it solely for the Benefit of the State, and
 “ to increase the Glory of his Majesty’s
 “ Reign.”

THESE were the Sentiments which the
 King and the Cardinal’s Successors in the
 Ministry desired the World should enter-
 tain of his late Eminency and his Admini-
 stration; but, as the Minds of Men are ab-
 solutely free, and so far from being subject
 to the Will of others, that they frequently
 revolt against their own, so it has unluckily
 fallen out, that this fine Eulogy has not
 met with implicit Belief.

THE late Cardinal *Fleury* was undoubt-
 edly as absolute a Minister as ever govern’d
France: If therefore, as no body can doubt,
 the late Conduct of the *French* has contri-
 buted to, or rather has occasion’d, those
 Distractions which now harass all *Christen-*
dom, and have, by bringing all Treaties
 into Contempt, not only caused a present
 Effusion of Christian Blood, but left all fu-
 ture Hopes of Peace less certain; then sure-
 ly, he who directed these Operations, could
 not be so superlatively Great or Good. The

Thirst of Power is the most dangerous of all Passions; and though it should be allowed, that it never sprung up in a Mind less inclined to either Violence or Baseness than his of whom we are speaking, yet indubitably it had very fatal Consequences there. Had the Cardinal been content to have shone in his proper Sphere, had he aspired to no Employment that required greater Talents than he derived from Nature, or if, even in his Post of Prime-Minister, he had acted according to his own Lights, and not, for the Sake of Glory, followed those of Men of brighter but less solid Parts, he had secured Ease to himself, as well as Peace and Prosperity to *Europe*. As it was, he sullied the Honours that his own Virtues had attained, by adopting the pernicious Schemes of others, he sacrificed the Character he had justly acquired, of being a Good Minister, to that which he never could acquire, of being a Great one: How fearful then ought every wise Man to be of climbing to such Heights? How cautious ought the Conduct even of the best Ministers, to render Princes, of trusting to the sole Abilities of one Man, what no Man's Abilities can be equal to, and for the Management of which they may have the Counsels of many? How careful ought every private Person to be of flattering, from particular Views, Men in great Power, and thereby helping

helping on that Intoxication which too generally attends on Greatness? These are the Reflections that naturally arise from the Perusal of these *Memoirs*; and from them we have the strongest Reason to conclude, that unbounded Power is a dangerous and destructive Thing, even in the best Minister's Hands, and therefore every able and honest Man has a Right to oppose it.

F I N I S.



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